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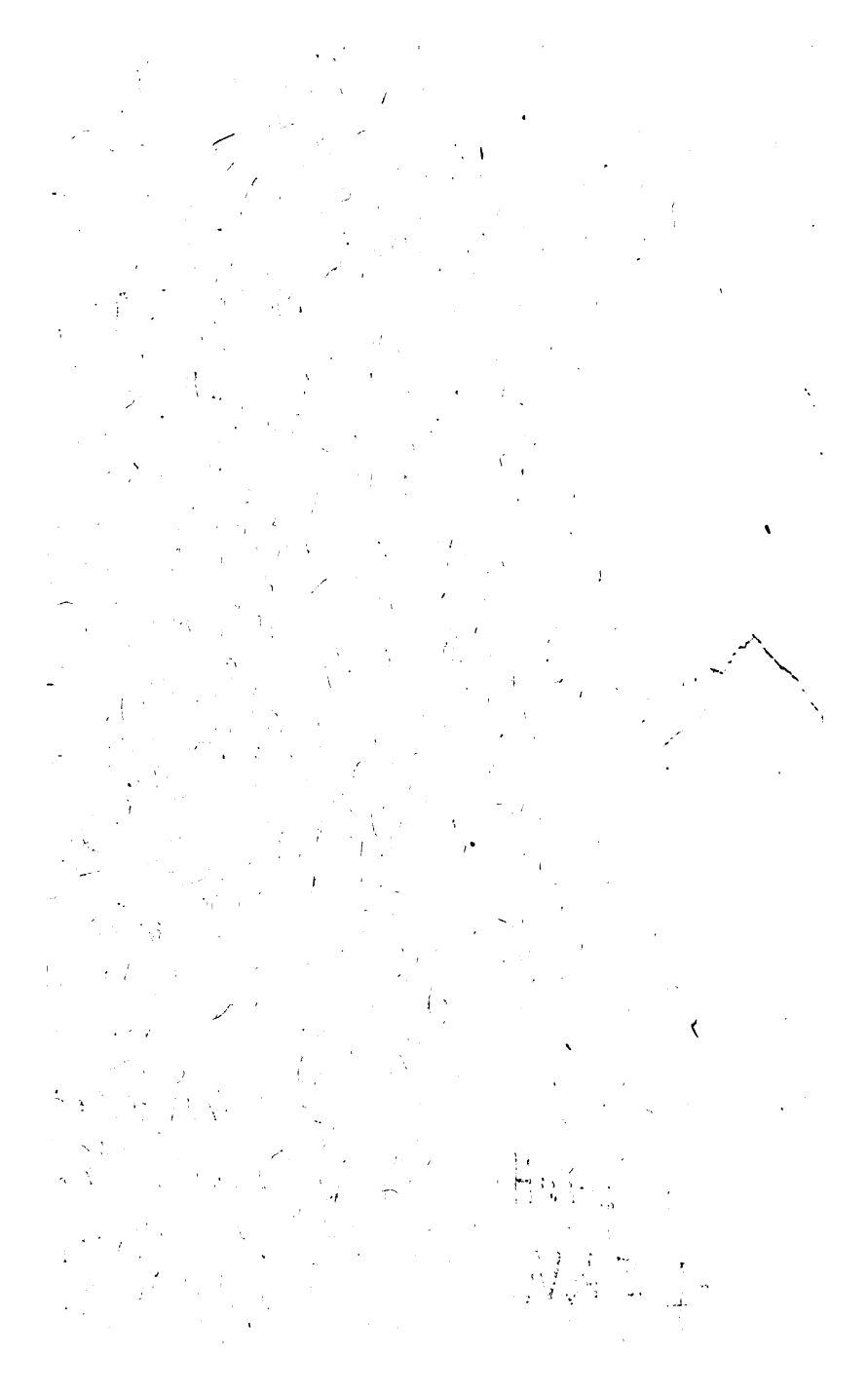

MORAL AND POLITICAL DIALOGUES;

WITH

LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE;

BY

THE REVEREND DOCTOR HURD.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

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LORD SHAFTESBURY — MR. LOCKE;

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, ESQ.

I COULD not but be much ſurprized, my dear friend, to receive your commands on a ſubject, of which YOU, of all men, are the greateſt maſter. For who could ſo well adviſe the party, you ſpeak of, or reſolve the general queſtion concerning *The Uſes of Foreign Travel*, conſidered as a part of modern breeding and education, as HE, who has himſelf profited ſo much by this practice, and, in a late excellent treatiſe [*a*],

[*a*] Account of *Denmark*, as it was in the year 1692.

has given ſo convincing a proof of its utility?

BESIDES, your application to me is a little ſuſpicious; and looks as if you wanted to draw from me a confirmation of your own ſentiments, rather than a candid examination of them. For how was it poſſible for you not to foreſee the difficulty I muſt be under, in debating this point with you? When have I been able to diſſent from you in any queſtion of morals or policy? and eſpecially what chance for my doing it in this inſtance, when you know the bias which my own education, conducted in this way, muſt have left upon me?

I AM therefore at a loſs, as I ſaid, to account for your fancy in making me of your council on this occaſion. But, whatever your purpoſe might be, ſince you have thought fit to honour me ſo far, I muſt own your Letter of Inquiry could not

not poſſibly have found me in a fitter ſeaſon.

I HAPPENED juſt then to amuſe myſelf with recollecting a converſation, which, not many days before, had paſſed between me and a certain Philoſopher of great note, on that very ſubject.

You know the eſteem I have of this Philoſopher; I mean, for ſuch of his writings, as are moſt popular, and deſerve to be ſo; ſuch as his pieces on *Government*, *Trade*, *Liberty*, and *Education*. No man underſtands the world better; or reaſons more clearly on thoſe ſubjects, in which that world takes itſelf to be moſt of all, and is, in truth, very nearly concerned.

HIS Philoſophy, properly ſo called, is not, I doubt, of ſo good a taſte. At leaſt, his notion of morals is too modern for my reliſh: I had put myſelf to ſchool

to other maſters, and had learnt, you know, from his betters what to think of *Life and Manners*; which they treat in a ſtyle quite out of the way of theſe ſubverters of ideal worlds [*b*], and architects on material principles [*c*].

But on this head, my dear Sir, you have heard me ſpeak often, and may hear from me more at large on ſome other occaſion. With exception to this one article (an important one, however), no man is more able, than Mr. Locke, or more privileged by his long experience, to give us Lectures on the good old chapter of *Education*; which many others indeed have diſcuſſed; but none with ſo much good ſenſe and with ſo

[*b*] Such as certain philoſophers amuſed themſelves with building, on *Innate Ideas*.

[*c*] *Ideas of Senſation*—on which principles, indeed, a late writer has conſtructed, but by no fault of Mr. Locke, a *material* ſyſtem of the groſſeſt Epicuriſm. See a work entitled, *De l'Eſprit*, in 2 tom. *Amſt.* 1759.

conſtant an eye to the uſe and buſineſs of the world, as this writer.

THE purpoſe of your inquiry, then, cannot, as I ſuppoſe, be any other way ſo well anſwered, as by putting into your hands a faithful account of his ſentiments on the conduct and uſe of *Travelling:* eſpecially, as you will perceive at the ſame time what *my* notions are (if that be of any importance to you) on the ſame ſubject.

IF I were compoſing a Dialogue in the old mimetical, or poetic form, I ſhould tell you, perhaps, the occaſion that led us into this track of converſation. Nay, I ſhould tell you what accident had brought us together; and ſhould even omit no circumſtance of *time* or *place*, which might be proper to let you into the ſcene, and make you, as it were, one of us.

BUT theſe punctilios of decorum are thought too conſtraining, and, as ſuch, are wiſely laid aſide, by the eaſy moderns. Nay, the very notion of Dialogue, ſuch as it was in the politeſt ages of antiquity, is ſo little comprehended in our days, that I queſtion much, if theſe papers were to fall into other hands than your own, whether they would not appear in a high degree fantaſtic and viſionary. It would never be imagined that a point of morals or philoſophy could be regularly treated in what is called a *converſation-piece*; or that any thing ſo unlike the commerce of our world could have taken place between men, that had any uſe or knowledge of it.

THIS, I ſay, might be the opinion of men of better breeding; of thoſe, who are acquainted with the faſhion, and are themſelves practiſed in the converſations, of the polite world. The *formaliſts*, on the

the other hand, would be out of patience, I can ſuppoſe, at this ſceptical manner of debate, which ends in nothing; and, after the waſte of much breath, leaves the matter at laſt undecided, and juſt as it was taken up.

ALL this, it muſt be owned, is very true. But, as it is not my intention to ſubmit the following draught to ſuch critics, you, who know me, will accept this recital, made in my own way, and pretty much as it paſſed. You may well be truſted to make your own concluſions from what is offered on either ſide of the argument, and will need no officious monitor to inſtruct you on which ſide the truth lies.

NOT to detain you, by further preliminaries, from the entertainment (ſuch as it is) which I have promiſed you; you may ſuppoſe, if you pleaſe, Mr. LOCKE and me, in company with ſome other of

our common friends, ſitting together in my library, and entering on the ſubject in the following manner.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

AND is not TRAVELLING then, in your opinion, one of the beſt of thoſe methods, which can be taken to poliſh and form the manners of our liberal youth, and to fit them for the buſineſs and converſation of the world?

MR. LOCKE.

I THINK not. I ſee but little good, in proportion to the time it takes up, that can be drawn from it, under any management; but, in the way in which it commonly is and muſt be conducted, ſo long as *travel* is conſidered as a part of early education, I ſee nothing but miſchiefs ſpring from it.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

WHAT! neceſſarily ſpring from it? And is there no way to ſtop their growth;

OF

or at leaſt prevent their choking the good plants, which that ſoil is capable of producing?

MR. LOCKE.

THIS indeed I muſt not abſolutely affirm: your Lordſhip's example, I confeſs, ſtands in my way. But if your own education, which was conducted in this form, and creates a prejudice for it, be pleaded againſt me, I may ſtill ſay, that the argument extends no further than to qualify the aſſertion; and that, as in other caſes, the rule is general, though with ſome exceptions.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

IT was not my meaning to put your politeneſs to this proof. I would even take no advantage of the exception which you might conſent to make in the caſe of many other travellers, who have, doubtleſs, a better claim, than myſelf, to this indulgence. What I would gladly know of you, is, Whether, in general,

Travel

Travel be not an excellent ſchool for our ingenuous and noble youth; and whether it may not, on the whole, deſerve the countenance of a philoſopher, who underſtands the world, and has himſelf been formed by it?

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip, I think, will do well to put *philoſophy* out of the queſtion. There is ſo much to be ſaid againſt *Travel* in that view, that the matter would clearly be determined againſt you. It is by other rules, and what are called the *maxims of the world* (which your Lordſhip underſtands too well, to join them with Philoſophy) that the advocate for travelling muſt demand to have his cauſe tried, if he would hope to come off, in the diſpute, with any advantage.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

YET philoſophy was not always of this mind. You know, when the beſt proficients

proficients in that ſcience gave a countenance to this practice, by their own example; a good part of their life was ſpent in foreign countries; and they did not preſume to ſet up for maſters of wiſdom, till experience and much inſight into the manners of men had qualified them for that great office. Hence they became the ableſt and wiſeſt men of the old world; and their wiſdom was not in thoſe days of the leſs account for the politeneſs, that was mixed with it.

MR. LOCKE.

THOSE wiſe men might have their reaſons for this different practice. They moſt of them, I think, ſet up for Politicians and Legiſlators, as well as Philoſophers; and in that infancy of arts and commerce, when diſtant nations had ſmall intercourſe with each other, it might be of real advantage to them, at leaſt it might ſerve their reputation with the people, to ſpend ſome years in voyages to ſuch

ſuch countries as were in higheſt fame for their wiſdom or good government.

Besides, the Sages of thoſe times made a wondrous myſtery of their wiſdom: a ſure ſign, perhaps, that they were not overſtocked with it. It was confined to certain ſchools and fraternities; or was locked up ſtill more cloſely in the breaſts of particular perſons. Knowledge was not then diffuſed in books and general converſation, as amongſt us, but was to be obtained by frequenting the academies or houſes of thoſe privileged men, who, by a thouſand ambitious arts, had drawn to themſelves the applauſe and veneration of the reſt of the world.

All this might be ſaid in favour of your Lordſhip's old Sages. Yet one of them, who deſerved that name the beſt, was no great Traveller. I remember to have read, that Socrates had never ſtirred out of *Athens*; and that, when his

his admirers would ſometimes aſk him why he affected this ſingularity, he was uſed to ſay, *That Stones and Trees did not edify him:* intimating, I ſuppoſe, that the ſight of fine towns and fine countries, which the voyagers of thoſe days, as of ours, made a matter of much vanity, was the principal fruit they had reaped to themſelves from their faſhionable labours.

However, allowing your Lordſhip to make the moſt of theſe reſpectable authorities for the uſe of travelling, it muſt ſtill be remembered, that they are wide of our preſent purpoſe. They were *Sages*, that travelled: and we are now inquiring, whether this be the way for young men to *become* Sages. Plato might pick up more learning in his Voyages, than any body ſince has been able to underſtand; and yet a youth of eighteen be little the wiſer for ſtaring away two or three years in myſterious *Egypt*.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

WHY, truly, if he carried nothing abroad with him but the uſe of his eye-ſight, I ſhould be much of your mind with regard to the improvements he might be expected to bring back with him. But let him hear and obſerve a little, as well as ſee; and methinks a youth of eighteen might pick up ſomething of value, though he ſhould not return laden with the myſteries of *Egypt*.

As to the gaiety on the antient Sages, I could be much entertained with it, if I did not recollect that the more enlightened moderns have, alſo, been of their mind in this inſtance. To ſay nothing of other countries, which yet have riſen in reputation for knowledge and civility in proportion to their acquaintance with the neighbouring nations, ſurely it muſt be allowed of our *own*, that all its valuable acquiſitions in both have been forwarded

warded at leaſt, if not occaſioned, by this reaſonable practice. We are now, without doubt, arrived at the ſummit of politeneſs, and may ſubſiſt at length upon our own proper ſtock. But was this always the caſe? And muſt it not be acknowledged, that the brighteſt periods of our ſtory are thoſe, in which our noble youth were faſhioned in the ſchool of foreign Travel? You will hardly pretend that the ornaments of the ſecond CHARLES' and ELIZABETH'S courts were caſt in the coarſe mould of this *home-breeding*.

MR. LOCKE.

I SHALL perhaps carry my pretenſions ſtill further, and affirm it had been much better if they had been ſo.

I KNOW what is to be ſaid for the voyagers in ELIZABETH'S time. We were juſt then emerging from ignorance and barbarity. Learning and the Arts were but then getting up; and were beſt acquired,

acquired, we will ſay, in foreign ſchools, and the commerce of other nations, which might have the ſtart of us in ſuch improvements. The ſtate of *Europe* at that time was not unlike what I obſerved of the old world, when knowledge was in few hands, and the excluſive property, as it were, of particular perſons. So that it was to be travelled for, and fetched home, by ſuch as would have it. *Italy*, in particular, was in thoſe days, as it had long been, the theatre of politeneſs, and without douht could furniſh us with very much of the learning we moſt wanted.

THIS then was the faſhionable route of our curious and courtly youth: and many accompliſhed perſons, I can readily admit, were to be found in the number of our *Italian* Travellers. Yet, methinks, they had done better to ſtay at home, and at leaſt import the arts of *Italy*, if they

they were neceſſary to them, in ſager heads than their own.

I SAY this, becauſe it is no ſecret that the civility, we thus acquired, was dearly paid for; and that Irreligion, and even Atheiſm, were packed up among their choiceſt gleanings, and ſhewn about, at their return, as curioſities, which could not but very much enhance the conſideration of thoſe who had been to gather them beyond the mountains [*d*].

[*d*] "Infidelity is the natural product of reſtraint "and ſpiritual tyranny—Hence it is we ſee *France* "and *Italy* over-run with the worſt kind of *Deiſm*. "There our travelling gentry firſt picked it up for "a rarity. And, indeed, at firſt, without much "malice. It was brought home in a cargo of new "faſhions: and worn, for ſome time, with that "levity, by the importers, and treated with that "contempt by the reſt, as ſuited, and was due, to "the apiſhneſs of foreign manners: till a ſet *&c.*" Biſhop of GLOUCESTER's *Sermon on the Suppreſſion of the late Rebellion*, p. 78.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

OR, ſhall we ſay that this impiety of the time was only employed to correct its ſuperſtition? And that the philoſophic ſpirits of that age trafficked in theſe wares, as thinking them a proper antidote to ſuch as another ſet of miſſionaries largely dealt in; I mean, the *agnus Dei's*, *holy beads*, and *conſecrated medals*?

MR. LOCKE.

TAKE it which way you will, the concluſion, I believe, will ſcarcely be much in favour of our *Italian* Travellers.—As to the worthies of CHARLES's court, your Lordſhip, without doubt, is diſpoſed to divert yourſelf with them. For, if they brought any thing with them from *France*, beſides the dreſs of its follies and vices (excepting always the ſacred babble of their language) it is a ſecret which it has not been my fortune to be apprized of.

LORD

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

AND ſo, becauſe Travelling may, by accident, be attended with ſome ill effects, you roundly determine againſt the thing itſelf; as if the national improvement in arts and civility, which unqueſtionably aroſe from it, were to go for nothing!

MR. LOCKE.

I WOULD have it go for no more than it is honeſtly worth; which ſurely is ſomething leſs than the price paid for it, our principles and our morals. And I doubt the truth is, that this degeneracy in both was the uſual acquiſition of our travelled youth, and the improvement, your Lordſhip ſpeaks of, only the accidental benefit.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

WITHOUT doubt, there is no extending our acquaintance with the world, but we run the riſk of catching its vices, as

well as virtues. Yet, puſh this concluſion as far as it will go, and you ſhut up mankind in abſolute and incurable barbariſm. Such is the unhappy condition of human nature, that, in ſtriving to cultivate its powers, you furniſh the opportunities, at leaſt, of its corruption. Yet to leave it in that ſordid ſtate, for fear of thoſe abuſes, is methinks but acting with the weak apprehenſion of fond mothers; who deny their children the liberty of ſtirring from the fire-ſide, for fear of the dirt or damp air, which, in their field-exerciſes, may chance to incommode them.

MR. LOCKE.

THE alluſion would be apt, if the health of the mind, as of the body, depended on the uſe of ſuch liberty; or if it were true, that one could as little help breathing the air of vice, as that of the heavens. But, though I have heared much of the dangers, to which virtue is expoſed in this bad world, I have never underſtood

underſtood that Vice is its proper element.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

YET methinks, Sir, it will be hard to keep clear of it in any part of the world, that I am acquainted with: unleſs perhaps you take this happy Iſland of ours to be as free from Vice, as a Neighbouring one, they ſay, is from Venom.

MR. LOCKE.

THERE are, however, degrees in vice, as well as varieties of it; and I cannot think it neceſſary for us to be greater proficients than we are, or to import new ſpecies of it; by rambling into countries where it may chance to rage with greater virulence, or where ſuch modes of it, at leaſt, prevail as are luckily unknown to us. And ſuch, I doubt, were the fruits of our *Italian* and *French* travels.

But allowing that vice were of every clime, the ſame every where, and equally malignant, I ſhould ſtill imagine our youth to be ſafer from the infection at home, under the eye and wing of their own parents or families, than wandering at large in foreign countries, with as little care of others, as prudence of their own, to guard them from this danger.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

Yes, if they were turned looſe into this wicked world, and left to their own devices. But, what if ſome ſage Philoſopher —

MR. LOCKE.

Some God, you would ſay, in the ſhape of a Tutor; for a mere mortal Guide of that ſtamp is not eaſily met with. Or, if He were, his wiſdom, I doubt, would hardly give him the authority, he ſtands in need of, for the diſcharge of his function. But I take your Lordſhip's raillery,

raillery, and could ſay in my turn, But what if ſome inquiſitive and well-diſpoſed young Nobleman —

After all, we may let theſe two voyagers, ſo well matched and fitted to each other, proceed on their journey. The queſtion at preſent is of no ſuch rarities; but of raw, ignorant, ungovernable boys, on the one hand, and of ſhallow, ſervile, and intereſted governors, on the other. And if any good can ariſe from ſuch worthies as theſe, ſauntering within the circle of the grand Tour, the magic of travelling can *call up* more than I have ever yet ſeen.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

It may be true, perhaps, that the advantages of travelling are not ſo great, or ſo general, as is ſometimes pretended. Yet, on the other hand, that there are advantages, and conſiderable ones too, can hardly be denied. And to come at

length more cloſely to the point (for what has hitherto paſt is but a ſort of prelude to the main argument) let me have leave to ſtate thoſe advantages clearly and diſtinctly to you, and then to requeſt your own proper ſenſe (I mean as a man of the world, according to the advice you juſt now gave me, and not as a Philoſopher) of this practice,

MR. LOCKE.

Is this fair dealing in your Lordſhip? I ſuppoſed that by ſtarting this queſtion you had meant only, as on other occaſions, to engage an old man in a little converſation; whereas your purpoſe, I now find, is to make a formal debate of it.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

Not a formal debate, but a free conference; for which we ſeem to have leiſure enough; and the ſubject is, beſides, of real importance. I may preſume to anſwer for our friends here, that

that they will not be diſpleaſed to aſſiſt at it.

I AM aware, as you ſaid, that the practice may be ſometimes inconvenient, as it is commonly managed, on the ſide of *morals*; and I would not be thought to have benefited ſo little by yours, and the inſtructions of my other maſters, as not to lay the greateſt ſtreſs on that conſideration.

BUT, after all, theſe inconveniences may be pretty well avoided, by the choice of an honeſt and able governor. Such an one it will not be impoſſible to find, if the perſons concerned be in earneſt to look out for him: I do not ſay, in *Cells*, for a Pedant without manners; and ſtill leſs, you will ſay, in *Camps*, for a mannered man, without principles or letters; but, in the world at large, for ſome learned and well-accompliſhed perſon, who, yet, may not diſdain to be engaged

gaged in this nobleſt office of conducting a young gentleman's education.

UNDER ſuch a Governor, as this, the danger, to which a young man's morals may be expoſed by early travel, will be tolerably guarded againſt; and to make amends for the hazard he runs in this reſpect, I ſee, on the other hand, ſo many reaſons for breeding young men in this way, ſo many benefits ariſing from it at all times, and ſuch peculiar inducements with regard to the preſent ſtate of our own country, that, I think, we ſhall hardly be of two minds, when you have attended to them.

MR. LOCKE.

WE ſhall ſee that in due time. For the preſent, the ſerious air, you aſſume, ſo different from your wonted manner, ſecures my attention.

LORD

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I CANNOT tell what may be the opinion of others; but ignorance and barbarity ſeem to me to be the parents of the moſt and the worſt vices. Conceit, pride, bigotry, inſolence, ferocity, cruelty, are the native product of the human mind, kept uncultivated. Self-love, which makes ſo predominant a part in the conſtitution of man, that ſome ſufferers by its exceſſes have miſtaken it for the ſole ſpring of all his actions, naturally engenders theſe vices, when no care is taken to control its operations by another principle.

ON this account, wiſe men have had recourſe to various expedients; ſuch as the proviſion of Laws; the culture of Arts and Letters; and, in general, all that diſcipline which comes under the notion of early tutorage and education. But none of theſe has been found ſo effectual

fectual to the end in view, or is ſo immediately directed to the purpoſe of enlarging the mind, and curing it, at once, of all its obſtinate and malignant prejudices, as a knowledge of the world, acquired in the way of ſociety, and general converſation.

To ſay nothing of the ſolitary ſequeſtered life, which all men agree to term *Savage*, look only on thoſe ſmaller knots and fraternities of men, which meet together in our provincial towns and cities, and, without any larger commerce, are confined within the narrow encloſure of their own walls or diſtricts. In as much as this condition is more ſocial than the other, it is, without doubt, more eligible. Yet ſee how many weak views are entertained by theſe ſeparate clans, how many fond conceits, and over-weening fancies! The world ſeems to them ſhrunk up into their own private circle; juſt as the heavens appear

appear to children to be contained within the limits of their own horizon.

EXTEND this proſpect of mankind to ſtill greater combinations, to ſtates, kingdoms, nations, and what we call a whole people. By this freer intercourſe, indeed, their thoughts take a larger range, and their minds open to more generous and manly conceptions. Yet their native barbariſm ſticks cloſe to them, and requires to be looſened and worn off by a more ſocial habit, by the experience of a ſtill wider and more thorough communication. Tribes of men, although very numerous, yet, if ſhut up within one territory, and held cloſely together under the influence of the ſame political conſtitution, eaſily aſſimilate, as it were; run into the ſame common ſentiments and opinions; and preſently take, in the whole extent of their community, one uniform prevailing character.

HENCE,

HENCE, the neceſſity of their ſtill looking beyond their *own*, into other combinations and ſocieties; that ſo, as the mind ſtrengthens by this exerciſe, they may be enabled to ſhake off their local, as we may ſay, and territorial prejudices.

THOSE other ſocieties may not be without their defects, which it will be equally proper to keep clear of. But, by this free proſpect of the differences ſubſiſting between different nations, each naturally gets quit of his own peculiar and characteriſtic vices; and thoſe of others, preſenting themſelves to our unbiaſſed obſervation, are not ſo readily entertained, or do not cling ſo faſt to us, as what have grown up with us, and, by long unqueſtioned uſe, are become, as we well expreſs it, a *ſecond nature*.

THUS, by this near approach and attrition, as it were, of each other, our rude parts give way; our rough corners are inſenſibly worn off; and we are poliſhed by degrees into a general and univerſal humanity:

EXTERNI *nequid valeat per læve morari*,

to uſe the poet's words, though with ſome ſmall difference, I believe, in their application.

WHAT ſays my friend to theſe principles? are they juſt and reaſonable? or, am I going to build on precarious and inſecure foundations?

MR. LOCKE.

WHATEVER defect there may be in this foundation, your Lordſhip, as a wiſe architect, is for ſparing no coſt or pains in providing for its ſtability. Yet, methinks, you go deeper for it, than you need. At leaſt, I did not expect your defence of Travelling would require you

to

to make theſe profound reſearches into human nature.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I TAKE your meaning. Theſe reſearches, you would ſay, are ſo little profound, that I might have ſpared myſelf the trouble of making them at all, at leaſt in converſation with a philoſopher. Be that as it will; provided the principles themſelves, I am contending for, be well founded. For the concluſion neceſſarily follows, "That therefore FOREIGN "TRAVEL is, of all others, the moſt im-"portant and eſſential part of Educa-"tion."

THE youth of the moſt accompliſhed people in *Europe* would have much to correct in themſelves, and ſomething, perhaps, to learn, in their voyages into the neighbouring nations; however inferiour to their own, in the general ſtate of knowledge and politeneſs. What then

then muſt be the caſe of our *Engliſh* youth, confined in this remote corner among themſelves, and indulged in their own ruſtic and licentious habits?

Our country has never been famous for the civility of its inhabitants. We have, rather, been ſtigmatized in all ages, and are ſtill conſidered by the reſt of *Europe*, as proud, churliſh, and unſocial. The very circumſtance of our Iſland-ſituation ſeems to expoſe us to the juſt reproach of inhoſpitality. And if, with this diſadvantage, we ſhould cheriſh, and not correct, thoſe vices which ſo naturally ſpring from it, what leſs could we expect than to be diſtinguiſhed by ſuch names, as our ill-manners would well deſerve, though our pride might ſuffer from the application of them?

It ſeems then to be an inevitable conſequence of what has been ſaid, that we of this country have a more than ordi-

nary occaſion for the benefits of *foreign travel.* And the reaſon of the thing ſhews, they cannot be obtained too ſoon. Young minds are the fitteſt to take the ply of civility and good manners. The taſk is leſs eaſy, and the ſucceſs more uncertain, when we enter upon this buſineſs late in life; when intractable humours have gathered ſtrength, and the unſocial manner is become habitual to us. Whatever may be objected to the incapacity of this age in other reſpects, youth is out of queſtion the time for acquiring right propenſities and virtuous habits.

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip has ſo many good words at command upon all occaſions, that one cannot but be entertained, at leaſt, with your rhetoric, if not convinced by it. But my preſent concern is, to have a clear conception of your argument, which in plain terms, as I apprehend it, ſtands thus; "That every nation has

"many

"many vices and follies to correct in it-
"self; that this is perhaps more eſpeci-
"ally the caſe of our own; and that
"early *Travel* is the only, at leaſt the
"moſt proper, cure for them."

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THAT, Sir, is my meaning; and, though expreſſed in more words than may be neceſſary, it is ſurely not coloured by any rhetorical exaggerations. But you muſt allow me to proceed in my own way, and enforce the general argument, I have delivered, by applying it to the particular exigencies and neceſſities of our *Engliſh* youth.

You, who have been abroad in the world, and have ſo juſt a knowledge of other ſtates and countries, tell me, if there can be any thing more ridiculous than the idiot PREJUDICES of our home-bred gentlemen; which ſhew themſelves, whenever their own dear Iſland comes, in

any reſpect, to be the topic of converſation. What wondrous conceits of their own proweſs, wiſdom, nay of their manners and politeneſs! With what diſdain is a foreigner mentioned by them, and with what apparent ſigns of averſion is his very perſon treated! They ſcarcely give you leave to ſuppoſe that any virtuous quality can thrive out of their own air, or that good ſenſe can be expreſſed in any foreign language. Nay, their fooliſh prepoſſeſſion extends to their very ſoil and climate. Such warm patriots are they, ſuch furious lovers of their country, that they will have it to be the theatre of all convenience, delight, and beauty.

" To hear their diſcourſe among themſelves, one would imagine that the fineſt lands near the *Euphrates*, the Babylonian or Perſian *Paradiſes*, the rich plains of *Egypt*, the Græcian *Tempe*, the Roman *Campania*, *Lombardy*, *Provence*,

" *vence*, the Spaniſh *Andaluſia*, or the " moſt delicious tracts in the Eaſtern or " Weſtern *Indies*, were contemptible " countries in reſpect of what they dote " upon under the name of *Old Eng-* " *land* [*e*]."

Now, if it were only for the ſake of truth and decency, if it were but to avoid the ridicule to which theſe palpable abſurdities and childiſh fancies expoſe them, one cannot but wiſh that our countrymen would open their eyes, and extend their proſpect beyond their own foggy air, and dirty acres.

But this is the leaſt inconvenience of their home-breeding. How many low HABITS and ſordid practices grow upon our youth of fortune, and even of quality, from the influence of their family, or at beſt provincial, education!

[*e*] CHARACT. Vol. iii. Miſ. iii.

They retain ſo much of their *Saxon* or *Norman* character, that their nobleſt paſſion is that of the Chace; unleſs a horſe-race may, haply, contend with it. Their ideas are all taken from the ſtable or kennel; and they have hardly words for any other ſort of converſation.

In conjunction with this habit, or in direct conſequence of it, they plunge themſelves into the brutalities of the bottle and table. Having little uſe of the faculty of thinking or diſcourſing on any reaſonable ſubject, they care not how ſoon they diſable themſelves for either. To this end, their ſurloins are of ſovereign effect: and if any ſpark of the *divine particle* be ſtill unſubdued, they quench it forthwith in the ſtrongeſt wines, or, which ſuits their taſte and deſign beſt, in their own country liquor.

This

THIS ſottiſh debauch leads to others. My young maſter will be denied no animal gratification. And thus low intrigues and vulgar amours follow of courſe, in which the ſum of his refined pleaſures is, at length, completed.

THE reſt of his life runs on in this drowzy tenour; unleſs perhaps you except thoſe intervals, which can hardly be called *lucid*, when his half-cloſed underſtanding ſeems ſtunned, rather than awakened, by party-rage, election-buſtle, and the noiſe of faction.

ADMIRABLE patriots theſe! and uſefuller citizens by far, than if they had acquired ſome reliſh of temperance, decency, and reaſon, in foreign courts, and the more improved ſocieties of *Europe!*

BUT ſuppoſe our young gentleman to have eſcaped this ſordid taſte, and by

better luck than ordinary to have finiſhed his home-education without much injury to his morals. Nay, ſuppoſe him to be inured, in good time, to better diſcipline, and to have had the advantage of what is called amongſt us, by a violent figure of ſpeech, *a liberal education.*

To put the caſe at the beſt, ſuppoſe him to have been well whipped through one of our public ſchools, and to come full fraught, at length, with *Latin* and *Greek,* from his college. You ſee him, now, on the verge of the world, and juſt ready to ſtep into it. But, good heavens, with what PRINCIPLES and MANNERS! His ſpirit broken by the ſervile awe of pedants, and his body unfaſhioned by the genteeler exerciſes! Timid at the ſame time, and rude; illiberal and ungraceful! An abſurd compound of abject ſentiments, and bigoted notions, on the one hand; and of clowniſh, coarſe, ungainly demeanour, on the other! In a word,

word, both in mind and perſon, the furtheſt in the world from any thing that is handſome, gentlemanlike, or of uſe and acceptation in good company!

BRING but one of theſe grown boys into a circle of well-bred people, ſuch as his rank and fortune entitle him, and in a manner oblige him, to live with: and ſee how forbidding his air, how embarraſed all his looks and motions! His aukward attempts at civility would provoke laughter, if, again, his ruſtic painful baſhfulneſs did not excite one's pity. What wonder if the young man, under theſe circumſtances, is glad to ſhrink away, as ſoon as poſſible, from ſo conſtraining a ſituation; and to ſeek the low ſociety of his inferiors, at leaſt of ſuch as himſelf among his equals, where he can be at eaſe, and give a looſe to his unformed and diſorderly behaviour!

But now, on the other hand, let a young gentleman, who has been trained abroad; who has been accuſtomed to the ſight and converſation of men; who has learnt his exerciſes, has ſome uſe of the languages, and has read his Horace or Homer in good company; let ſuch an one, at his return, make his appearance in the beſt ſocieties; and ſee with what eaſe, and addreſs, he ſuſtains his part in them! how liberal his air and manner! how managed and decorous his delivery of himſelf! In ſhort, how welcome to every body, and how prepared to acquit himſelf in the ordinary commerce of the world, and in converſation!

I should think, if there were no other advantage of early travel, beſide this of *manners*, it were well worth ſetting againſt all the other inconveniences, whatever they be, of this ſort of Education.

MR.

MR. LOCKE.

Good my Lord ——

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I know what you would ſay: that *manners*, in the proper acceptation of the word, at leaſt in the ſenſe of wiſe men, implies much more than the eaſe, aſſurance, civility, (call it what you will) which a young Traveller is ſuppoſed to acquire in his intercourſe with the politer nations. Without doubt, it does. But give me this foundation of good breeding to work upon; and if I had the tutorage of a noble youth, I durſt be anſwerable for all the reſt, which even a philoſopher includes in his ſublime notion of *manners*: whereas, without it, his improvements of other ſorts would be almoſt thrown away; nay, his virtues themſelves would be offenſive and unlovely.

But

But do not imagine I confine myſelf to *manners* in the obvious meaning of that term. I further underſtand by it an ability for ingenious, uſeful, and manly converſation. For a traveller, that makes the proper uſe of his opportunities, will be all of a piece, and return as poliſhed in his mind and underſtanding, as in his perſon.

And here, again, how deficient is the turn and courſe of our ordinary education! Whither would you ſend our young pupil, to accompliſh himſelf in the neceſſary art of ſpeaking handſomely and thinking juſtly? What companions have you provided for him, or what inſtructors in this man-ſcience will you direct him to? ſhall he court the acquaintance of ſome lettered pedagogue in the ſchools, or ſollicit the precious communication of ſome famed profeſſor in the occult ſciences? Wonderful models

dels of correct wit, ſublime ſenſe, and elegant expreſſion!

I HAVE read of an antient Rhetorician, that took upon him to teach others the *art of ſpeaking*; but in ſuch a way, ſays my author, that if a man had a mind to learn the art of *not ſpeaking*, he could not have been directed to an abler maſter.

I FORBEAR the application of my little tale, out of pure reſpect to the modern diſciples and ornaments of this antient ſchool; and, without puſhing matters ſo far, it will be owned, that whatever advantage of this ſort may be left at home, the loſs will be amply made up to an inquiſitive traveller, on the continent. *France*, and even *Italy*, abounds in men of diſtinguiſhed literature and politeneſs. Nay, a *German* Profeſſor may ſupply the place of an Univerſity Doctor. Think, what illuſtrious perſons may be ſometimes met with even in a *Dutch* town; and

and how many inſtructive hours you and I have paſſed in converſation with ſuch knowing, candid, and accompliſhed ſcholars, as LE CLERC and LIMBORCH. Philoſophy, and even Divinity, could take a liberal air, under their management; and eloquence itſelf might be learned, on almoſt every ſubject, in their company.

I CONSIDER then the acquaintance and familiarity of men of eminent parts and genius, as *another* conſiderable benefit reſulting from this way of foreign education.

STILL there are higher things in view (for, now I have ventured thus far in the dogmatic tone, I find myſelf, like our authorized teachers, a little impatient of controul, and in a humour to run myſelf out without lett or interruption); ſtill, I ſay, there are higher advantages in view from travelled culture and education.

You

You may think as ſlightly, as you pleaſe, of the exterior poliſh of *manners*, or may even treat as ſuperficial the *information* that can be acquired in good company. But what ſay you to that ſupreme accompliſhment, a KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD; a ſcience ſo uſeful, as to ſuperſede or diſgrace all the reſt; and ſo profound, as to merit all the honours, and to fill up all the meaſures, of the beſt philoſophy? For, by *a knowledge of the world*, I mean that which reſults from the obſervation of men and things; from an acquaintance with the cuſtoms and uſages of other nations; from ſome inſight into their policies, government, religion; in a word, from the ſtudy and contemplation of men; as they preſent themſelves on the great ſtage of the world, in various forms, and under different appearances. This is that maſter-ſcience, which a gentleman ſhould comprehend,

comprehend, and which our ſchools and colleges never heard of.

I KNOW this ſcience is too difficult to be perfectly acquired, but by long habit and mature reflexion. I know it is not to be expected from a ſlight ſurvey of mankind; from a haſty paſſage through the different countries, or a ſhort reſidence in the great towns, of *Europe*. All this I am not to be told; but it muſt be allowed me at the ſame time, that ſo important a ſtudy cannot be entered upon too ſoon, and that the rudiments at leaſt of this ſcience cannot be laid in too early.

THE proper buſineſs of men, eſpecially thoſe of rank and quality, lies among men. The firſt and laſt object of a Gentleman ſhould be an intimate ſtudy and knowledge of his ſpecies. Say, that ſome chapters of this great book, the world, are above his reach, and too hard for

for his decyphering. Yet others are eaſier and more manageable. Initiate a young man betimes in theſe purſuits; and his progreſs, as in other things, muſt be the more ſure and ſucceſsful.

Above all, let him be taught to give an early attention to the manners of men, to obſerve their diſpoſitions, to inſpect and analyze their characters. What a field is here for an intelligent young man, aſſiſted by the ſuperior lights and experience of an able governor! And what a harveſt of true knowledge and learning muſt he gather and bring home with him, from the numberleſs varied ſcenes he has paſſed through in his voyages! With what luſtre muſt ſuch a perſon appear in the court or ſenate of his own country! How ſecure againſt the attempts of artifice and deſign! the plots of inſidious enemies, or the pretences of falſe friends! how apt for the buſineſs of life, and for bearing his part

in public debates and cabinet-conſultations!

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip declaims ſo handſomely on this theme, that I am ſomething loth to ſpoil your panegyric by aſking a plain queſtion, "How this knowledge of "the public affairs of his own country "is to be come at, by foreign politics?"

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

As if the objects of that knowledge were not every where much the ſame! Bigotry or Fanaticiſm in religion, ſelfiſh or factious intrigues in government, neglected or ill-improved agriculture or commerce, inſolence and want of diſcipline in fleets and armies, a bad-conſtituted police under venal magiſtrates, and a corrupt adminiſtration; are not theſe the principal miſchiefs to be guarded againſt by our young citizen, or perhaps ſenator? And where is the country, which does not afford opportunities of laying

laying in uſeful leſſons on all theſe ſubjects?

To ſay the leaſt, a little home-practice will go a great way, when entered upon with ſo true a preparation of general knowledge. On the other hand, it hardly needs to be obſerved, the diſadvantage, with which our young Iſlander muſt come into this ſcene; a novice to the affairs of the world; a ſtranger to men and characters; and who has never perhaps ſtretched his obſervation beyond the narrow circle of his companions, or even his own family.

My panegyric, as you call this plain repreſentation of facts and things, would never have an end, if I were to take to myſelf all the advantages, which this topic of an early knowledge of the world in a young traveller affords me. But I leave the reſt to be ſupplied out of theſe hints; and paſs on to other con-

ſiderations, which ſeem of moment to the credit and reputation of our country, and to the accompliſhment, at leaſt, of our ingenuous youth; however they may rank in the eſtimation of ſome, who in modern times have aſſumed to themſelves the name and office of Philoſophers.

You, who have ſo much a nobler way of thinking than theſe nominal ſages, will allow me, I hope, to lay ſome ſtreſs on the LIBERAL ARTS; which adorn and embelliſh human life; and, where they prevail to ſome degree of perfection, are among the ſureſt marks of the civility and politeneſs of any people.

It is notorious enough how backward we have been, and ſtill are, in all theſe elegant and muſe-like applications. There is little or nothing in the way of *picture*, *ſculpture*, and the arts of *deſign* among us, that can ſtand the teſt of a knowing and judicious eye. It is but of late we have begun

begun to form to ourſelves any thing like an *ear* in harmony and the proportions of juſt muſic. And whatever magiſterial airs our faſhionable workmen in the dramatic and poetical kinds may give themſelves in their prologues and prefaces, it is no ſecret to ſuch as have looked into the antient maſters, or have made an acquaintance with the ſtyle and manner of the politer moderns, that we are far from poſſeſſing a right taſte in theſe things, and that the Muſes have hitherto ſhewn themſelves but little indulgent to us.

The courtſhip, we have paid to them, has been preſſing and ardent, if you will; but this circumſtance, though it may do much, nay is thought to do every thing with the ſex, ſeems not to have ſucceeded with theſe coy Ladies. Paſſion and aſſiduity are not the only things: ſomewhat of an addreſs and management is looked for in our advances. Wherever

the defect lies, and whatever be the cure for it, certain it is, there is much of the Gothic manner in the performances of our beſt artiſts: there is neither chaſteneſs of deſign, nor elegance of hand, in our manual operations: nothing like correctneſs of thought, ſimplicity of ſtyle, or the grace of numbers, in our literate productions.

'Tis true, the ſtrength and vigour of our genius has been exerted in other things. We have been ſolicitous to procure a juſt taſte in policy and government, and have at length ſucceeded in this firſt and higheſt emulation. It may now be proper to apply the liberty, we have ſo happily gained, to other improvements. There is ſomething, I have ever obſerved, congenial to the liberal arts in the reigning ſpirit of a free people. It muſt then be our own fault, if our progreſs in every elegant purſuit do

not

not keep pace with our excellent conſtitution.

But the likelieſt way to quicken the growth of theſe ſtudies, is to turn our attention from the bad models of our own country, and enter into a free commerce and generous ſtruggle, as it were, with our more advanced neighbours. And it is here again, as in the manners and arts of life, the ſeeds of good taſte cannot be committed to the mind too ſoon. It were then to be wiſhed, that our young men had right impreſſions of *art* in their tender years; and that, forming their reliſh among the ableſt proficients in *Europe*, they might afterwards communicate their improvements to their own country.

Thus, it might be hoped, in ſome convenient time, we ſhould have ſomething of our own to oppoſe to the wit, learning, and elegance of *France*; and that, in the

mechanic execution of the fine arts, we ſhould come at length to vye with the *Italian* maſters.

NOR think, that ſuch an emulation as this would be without its uſe, even in a moral and political view. Beauty and virtue are nearer of kin, than every one is perhaps aware of: and the mind that is taken with the charm of what is *true and becoming* in the repreſentation of ſenſible things, cannot be inattentive to thoſe qualities in the higher ſpecies and moral forms. It is thither indeed the virtuoſo paſſion naturally tends; and there, it finally acquieſces.

Quid VERUM *atque* DECENS *curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum.*

BUT I ſee what you think of this language. Let me add then, that policy, as well as philoſophy, is on the ſide of theſe ſtudies. Who can doubt their virtue in ſoftening and refining the manners

ners of a people? or, to take policy in its vulgar ſenſe, where would be the hurt, if *Britain* were the ſeat of arts and letters, as well as of trade and liberty? Then might *we* be travelled to, in our turn, as our neighbours are at preſent: and our country, amidſt its other acquiſitions, be alſo enriched (I uſe the word in its proper, not metaphorical ſenſe) with a new ſpecies of commerce.

Not to inſiſt, that the aſcendant which one nation takes over another in all public concerns, is very much owing to this pre-eminence of taſte and politeneſs, to its acknowledged ſuperiority, I may ſay, in the literate and virtuoſo character: of which *France* is an inſtance in our days; as *Italy* is well known to have been in the days of our forefathers.

And, if there be uſe and value in ſuch things, how ſhall our ingenuous youth be tinctured with a right ſenſe of them,

but by early and well-conducted travel? For what diſcipline, what examples, what encouragements, have we at home? what academies for the genteel exerciſes? what conferences for the improvement of art or language? what ſocieties for the cultivation of the liberal character?

THE contemplation of theſe defects carries me ſtill further; to the ſource and fountain of them all, which I make no ſcruple to lay open to you.

"TIME was, Sir, when philoſophy herſelf could appear with grace even in courts, when the great and noble, nay and princes themſelves, were not aſhamed to be of her train, but frequented her ſtudious ſchools and walks, and were even ambitious of her company in their hours of leiſure and recreation.

SEE now to what unpractiſed cells and ignoble ſocieties ſhe is degraded! her graceful

graceful form faded and ſhrunk; her ingenuous ſprightly air deadened into I know not what gloom and auſterity of the cloyſter.

You, who have done more than any other, to retrieve her credit and bring her back to the world, can beſt tell her preſent degenerate condition. You know where ſhe lies, unapproached by her former ſuitors; her liberal manner ſoured into diſdain and hate; her perſuaſive voice, which ſpoke the language of the Gods, broken into untuned numbers and diſcordant harſhneſs; and her very ſenſe corrupted into empty ſophiſms and unintelligible jargon. The Graces, thoſe companions of her better days, are all fled: and in their room, a riotous band of fauns and ſatyrs dance around her. Yet ſtill ſhe aſſumes a ſort of mock-ſovereignty; and, under the new name of *Genius of the Schools*, preſides, in ſul-

len

len majeſty, over her numerous, ſervile, awe-ſtruck votaries."

In ſome ſuch way as this, were I at liberty to purſue the figured ſpeech, and to adopt the higher tone of the antient maſters, would I preſume to repreſent the preſent ſtate of Erudition, as we ſee it managed in certain ſublime ſeats and authorized nurſeries amongſt us.

And would you invite our liberal and noble youth to reſort thither? could you expect that their free ſpirits would ſtoop to be lectured by bearded boys; or that their minds could ever be formed and tutored by ſuch pedants, in a way that fits them for the real practice of the world and of mankind?

Have we not long enough ſubmitted to the inconveniences of this monkiſh education? Look on the generality of thoſe perſons who have had their breeding in thoſe

thoſe ſeminaries. What principles in morals, in government, in religion, have ſprouted thence! what diſpoſitions have we known corrupted by their diſcipline! what underſtandings perverted by their ſervile and falſe ſyſtems! Has truth, or liberty, or reaſon, fair play from that quarter? Nay, has not truth, and liberty, and reaſon, though ſpeaking by ONE of their own ſons, been calumniated and rejected? In a word, have they not always ſet themſelves to obſtruct the progreſs of true knowledge, and the cauſe of freedom?

IF ſuch then be the ſtate of our own ſeats of literature and education, what more needs be alledged in the behalf of FOREIGN TRAVEL; which is the only means left to remedy theſe miſchiefs, or at leaſt to palliate and correct them?

DIA-

DIALOGUE VIII.

On the USES of FOREIGN TRAVEL.

LORD SHAFTESBURY — MR. LOCKE;

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, ESQ.

HERE I concluded my defence: when Mr. LOCKE, perceiving, by the attention we all paid to him, that we were now prepared to receive his anſwer, raiſed himſelf in his chair, and, with a firmer tone and look than I expected, addreſſed himſelf to me in the following manner.

MR. LOCKE.

WERE the ſubject before us a matter of indifference or curioſity, ſuch as idle men

men are uſed to diſcourſe of, I could allow your Lordſhip to purſue it in this way of Socratic raillery and declamation. But, if ever there was a queſtion, that deſerved the examination of a philoſopher, properly ſo called, it is, ſurely, this of EDUCATION; and, among the various parts of it, none is more ſtrictly to be inquired into, as none is, perhaps, ſo big with important conſequences, as that which comes recommended to us under the ſpecious name of FOREIGN TRAVEL.

I COULD not, therefore, but wonder to hear your Lordſhip enlarge ſo much, and ſo long, on I know not what varniſh of manners and good breeding; of the knowledge of men and the world; of arts, languages, and other trappings and ſhewy appendages of education: juſt as if an architect ſhould entertain you with a diſcourſe on Feſtoons and Foliage, or the finiſhing of his Frize and Capitals, when you expected him to inſtruct you in

in what way to erect a ſolid edifice on firm walls and durable foundations.

WHAT a reaſonable man wants to know, is, the proper method of building up *men:* whereas your Lordſhip ſeems ſolicitous for little more than tricking out a ſet of fine *gentlemen.* It ſeemed, indeed, as if your Lordſhip had calculated your defence of travelling for a knot of Virtuoſi, or a ſtill more faſhionable circle (where, doubtleſs, it would paſs with much eaſe and without contradiction); and had, ſomehow, forgotten that your hearers are all plain men; one of them, an old one; and he too, as your Lordſhip loves to qualify him, a philoſopher.

To ſpeak my mind frankly, my Lord, your defence of foreign travel, as lively and plauſible as it ſeemed, has no ſolid baſis to reſt upon. You tell us of many defects in the breeding of our *Engliſh*

youth, and you would willingly redreſs them: but in what way this is beſt done, can never be known from vague and general declamation.

To make this inquiry to purpoſe, ſome certain principles muſt be laid down; ſome ſcheme of life and manners muſt be formed; ſome idea or model of the character, you would imprint on young minds, muſt be deſcribed; to which we may conſtantly refer, as we go along; and by which, as a rule, we may eſtimate the fitneſs and propriety of that ſort of breeding, you would recommend to us.

Since your Lordſhip then will needs have me dictate to you on the ſubject of Education, I muſt have leave to do it in another way, and after a more ſolemn manner, than you perhaps expect from me in this freedom of converſation.

I re-

I BEGIN with this certain principle: That the buſineſs of education is to form the UNDERSTANDING, and regulate the HEART. If man be a compound of Reaſon and Paſſion, the only proper diſcipline of his nature is that which accompliſhes theſe two purpoſes.

So far we are, doubtleſs, agreed. But the ſubject requires a more particular application of this principle.

You have laboured with much plauſibility to perſuade us, That the only reaſonable education is that which prepares and fits a man for the commerce of the world: and I readily admit the notion, provided we firſt agree about the meaning of this big word, the WORLD. Your Lordſhip, it may be, in your ſublime view of things, is projecting to make of your Pupil, what is called, in the wideſt ſenſe of the terms, a *Citizen of the world*. A

great and aweful character, my Lord! But let us advance by juſt degrees.

First, if you pleaſe, let us provide that he be a worthy citizen of *England*; and, by your favour, let me ennoble this ſmall iſland of ours, with the pompous appellation of the world. It is that world, at leaſt, in which our adventurer is to play his part; and for the commerce of which it concerns him moſt immediately to be prepared.

Now, as your Lordſhip's chief care is directed, very properly, towards its chief ſubjects; I mean, the men of rank and fortune; whoſe ample property and noble birth give their country the greateſt concern in their education: let me aſk in what manner they are likely to qualify themſelves beſt for the important parts, they are to act in it?

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

CERTAINLY, by acquiring that knowledge and thoſe accompliſhments, that are moſt proper for the diſcharge of them.

MR. LOCKE.

UNDOUBTEDLY, my Lord: there cannot be two anſwers to ſo plain a queſtion. As that education is, in general, the beſt, which forms the *man*, in the beſt manner; ſo, in this confined view, that education muſt be thought the beſt, which forms the *Engliſhman*, in the beſt manner.

To proceed then on this reaſonable conceſſion.

AN *Engliſh* citizen, or, if you will, Senator (for this is the ſtation to which our greater citizens do, and our beſt ſhould aſpire) can never acquit himſelf of the duties he owes his country, under

this character, but by furniſhing himſelf with all thoſe qualities of the *head* and *heart*, which his ſuperior rank and pretenſions demand.

THIS *laſt* chapter is an important one; and would be very long, if juſtice were done to it. But a ſummary of the main articles, of which it conſiſts, may be given in few words.

I REQUIRE then in our young aſpirant to the name and honours of an *Engliſh* Senator, that his mind be early and thoroughly ſeaſoned with the principles of virtue and religion: that he be trained, by a ſtrict diſcipline, to the command of his temper and paſſions: that his ambition be awakened, or rather directed, to its right object, the *public good*; and, to that end, that his ſoul be fired with the love of excellence and true honour: above all, that he have a reverence for the legal conſtitution of his country,

country, and a fervent affection for the great community to which he belongs.

YOUR Lordſhip has a due reſpect for theſe virtuous qualities of the HEART, which will give this conſideration its full weight with you. But were they of no more account, than many inſtitutors of youth ſeem diſpoſed to reckon them, ſtill there are other qualities, thoſe of the HEAD, in every man's account eſſentially requiſite to the diſcharge of thoſe offices, which our greater citizens are deſtined to ſuſtain.

I REQUIRE therefore, in the next place, that our young Senator have a ready and familiar uſe, at leaſt, of the *Latin* tongue (your Lordſhip, I know, will add, and of the *Greek*; but in this I am not ſo peremptory): that he be competently inſtructed in the elements of ſcience, as well as what are called polite letters: that, eſpecially, he be well

grounded in the principles of morals, public and private: that he have made a thorough acquaintance with the hiſtory of his own country, and with its conſtitution, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical: that he have a general inſight into the hiſtory of the world, antient and modern: above all, that he have a well-exerciſed underſtanding; I mean, that he be taught to reaſon clearly and conſequentially upon any ſubject: and, further, to put all theſe abilities to uſe, that he have a ready command of his own language, and the power of expreſſing himſelf, whether in writing or ſpeaking, with eaſe and perſpicuity, at leaſt, if not with elegance.

OTHER ornamental qualities I omit for the preſent, which will almoſt come of themſelves, if his education be rightly conducted; or may be acquired with little pains, and in the way of diverſion only. But theſe ſolid accompliſhments I hold

hold it neceſſary for our youth of quality to poſſeſs, by the time in which they uſually paſs out of the hands of their Tutors and Governors, I mean the age of twenty one.

Am I unreaſonable in theſe demands? or can any thing leſs be diſpenſed with in a gentleman, who, by eſtabliſhed cuſtom, is to enter into the world at thoſe years, and to bear a part in the public buſineſs and legiſlature of his country?

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

Without doubt, theſe accompliſhments are no more than may be reaſonably required in our young gentleman, or Senator. But how they are to be come at in our vulgar way of *Education*, I do not eaſily apprehend.

MR. LOCKE.

Of that, in due time. At preſent, you accept this as a reaſonable idea or ſketch of

of an *Engliſh* gentleman's character; ſuch as the courſe of his education ought to imprint upon him: and I ſhall now ſhew you very clearly that it is not poſſible to be attained in the way of *foreign Travel.*

CONSIDER, *firſt* of all, the unavoidable WASTE OF TIME; of that time which is ſo precious in every view; not only as being the moſt proper for making the acquiſitions, I ſpeak of; but as being the only period of his life, which he will be at liberty to employ in that manner.

EARLY youth is flexible and docile: apt to take the impreſſions of virtue, and ready to admit the principles of knowledge. The faculties of the mind are then vigorous and alert: the conception quick, and the memory retentive. The humble drudgery of acquiring the elements of literature and ſcience is to

young minds an eaſy and a flattering employment. A ſubmiſſive reverence for their teachers diſpoſes them to proceed without reluctance in any path that is preſcribed to them; and a ſpringing emulation, joined to a conſcious ſenſe of gradual improvement, gives force and conſtancy to their purſuits. The objects of their application ſeem important; not only from the novelty of them, and the authority of thoſe who have the direction of their ſtudies, but chiefly perhaps from a confuſed ſenſe of their value, much above what they would entertain, were they able to form a true and diſtinct judgment of them.

THIS, then, is the ſeaſon for laying the foundations of knowledge and ability of every kind; and if you let it ſlip, without applying it carefully to thoſe purpoſes, you will in vain lament the omiſſion in riper years, when the cares or amuſements

ments of life afford little leiſure for ſuch purſuits, and leſs inclination.

THERE may have been ſome few examples of thoſe, whoſe ſuperior induſtry in advanced age has atoned for the defects of their education. But in general the *man* depends entirely on the *boy*; and he is all his life long, what the impreſſions, he received in his early years, have made him [*f*]. If therefore any conſiderable part of this precious ſeaſon be *waſted* in foreign travel, I mean if it be actually *not employed* in the purſuits proper to it, this circumſtance muſt needs be conſidered as an objection of great weight to that ſort of education.

YOUR Lordſhip may conſider, *next*, the DISSIPATION OF MIND attending on this itinerant education; while the ſcene is

[*f*] Ἃ δ' ἂν μάθοι τις, ταῦτα σώζεσθαι φιλεῖ
Πρὸς γῆρας. ὅτῳ παῖδας εὖ παιδεύεῖς.
Eurip. ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ.

 conſtantly

conſtantly changing; and new objects perpetually ſpringing up before him, to ſolicit the admiration of our young traveller.

One of the greateſt ſecrets in education is, to fix the attention of youth: a painful operation! which requires long uſe and a ſteady unremitting diſcipline; the very reverſe of that roving, deſultory habit, which is inſeparable from the ſort of life you would recommend. The young mind is naturally impatient of conſtraint: it hates to be confined for any time in the ſame track; and is flying out, at every turn, from the proper ſubject of its meditation. Inſtead of counteracting this native infirmity, you indulge and flatter it; till, by degrees, the mind loſes its tone and vigour, and is utterly incapable of paying a due attention to any thing.

I INSIST the more on this conſideration, becauſe in acquiring the elements of learning it is of great importance that the learner proceed uniformly in the courſe on which he has entered. It may now and then be the privilege of a genius, to ſeize the principles of knowledge at once, and to grow wiſe, as we may ſay, by intuition. But the common ſort of minds are of another make. It is by ſlow ſteps only that they arrive at knowledge; and, if you ſtop or divert their progreſs, their labour is all thrown away, or yields at beſt a ſhallow, ſuperficial, and ill-digeſted learning.

BUT were no account to be had of *the loſs of time*, or of *this diſſipated turn of mind*, which is ſtill more pernicious, I ſhould, nevertheleſs, object to this travelled education, on account of the very objects to which our traveller's APPLICATION is directed.

INSTEAD

INSTEAD of thoſe neceſſary and fundamental parts of knowledge, which I require him to have laid in, his attention, ſo much of it as can be ſpared for any thing that looks like information, is waſted on things either frivolous or unimportant.

HIS *firſt* buſineſs is, to make himſelf perfect in the forms of breeding, which he finds in uſe among thoſe he lives with, or perhaps in their forms of dreſs only.

HIS *next* concern is, to acquire a readineſs in the languages of *Europe*; or, to ſhorten his labour as much as poſſible, at leaſt in the *French* language. The pretence is, that he may fit himſelf for converſation with his foreign acquaintance; which takes up much time to little purpoſe, as the uſe ceaſes, in a good degree, with his return home: and, that he

he may qualify himſelf for peruſing their beſt books; which takes him off from the ſtudy of thoſe, which are ſtill better, in the learned languages, and I will venture to ſay, in his own.

If any thing *further* employ his attention, it is perhaps a little virtuoſoſhip. He inquires after fine pictures, fine ſtatues, fine buildings. He viſits the ſhops of artificers; gets admiſſion to libraries, cabinets of medals, and repoſitories of curioſities; and, for ſome relaxation from theſe arduous toils, is frequent at Churches, Theatres, and Courts of Judicature, and ſtares at proceſſions, ceremonies, and other ſolemn ſhews.

And, now, when theſe three points have been duly attended to, I leave your Lordſhip to gueſs what leiſure he is likely to have for accompliſhing himſelf in thoſe other ſtudies, which you allow me

to

to ſuppoſe are of much greater importance.

In one word, my Lord, if he acquires any knowledge, it is only, or chiefly, of ſuch things as he may very well do without, or, at beſt, are of an inferior and ſubordinate conſideration: while the branches of learning, he muſt neglect for theſe, are of the moſt conſtant uſe and neceſſity to him in the commerce of his whole life.

Till then your Lordſhip can find a way to reconcile theſe different purſuits, I muſt be of opinion that the boaſted way of travel is the worſt that can be contrived for the proper inſtruction of our young countrymen.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

Without doubt, if theſe leſs important points engroſs all their attention. But can there be a difficulty in carrying

on the two deſigns together; eſpecially, if a good and attentive tutor be at hand, to direct his pupil's purſuit and quicken his application?

MR. LOCKE.

Your Lordſhip, like the friends and parents of a young traveller, is for exacting wonders at the hands of this important perſonage, a tutor. But the truth is, ſo many, and ſo different things cannot be well learned, even with the advantage of the beſt parts, under the very beſt direction.

Besides, your Lordſhip forgets that what we now inquire into, is, whether the generality of our *Engliſh* youth of quality ſhould be educated in this form; not, whether two or three young men, of the moſt uncommon genius and application, may not poſſibly ſucceed in it. I demand an education, which may ordinarily produce uſeful and able men: your Lordſhip

ſhip is providing only for, what comes of itſelf, a prodigy.

And now, my Lord, with this preparation, I think myſelf enabled to reply diſtinctly to the ſeveral arguments you alledged for the expediency of foreign travel. It is very clear, that the moſt ſolid advantages are loſt by it. But perhaps we ſhall find a recompence for this loſs, in the ſhewy and ornamental accompliſhments, which travel promiſes; and which your Lordſhip ſuppoſes the world will readily, and with reaſon, accept inſtead of them.

These accompliſhments are ſummed up in the benefits of an enlarged ſociety and converſation; which, again, branch out into many heads; and, under different names, furniſhed, I think, the ſubſtance, as well as governed the method, of your vindication.

THIS was the polite and popular theme, which you choſe to dreſs out in all the colours of your eloquence. To make way for theſe, and to lay them on with more effect, your Lordſhip was pleaſed to tell us a very melancholy ſtory. *England*, it ſeems, is over-run with barbariſm and ignorance; its inhabitants are rude and uncivilized; and nothing can be learnt among them, which is fit to appear in good company.

IF this had been ſaid of our forefathers in CÆSAR's time, or even in good King EDGAR's, when the land, they ſay, was over-run with wolves (by which, I ſuppoſe, the monkiſh mythology means *men*, as ſavage); I could have found but little, it may be, to oppoſe to the accuſation. But at this time of day, when arts and letters have at leaſt made ſome progreſs among us; when commerce has extended our acquaintance with

with the rudeſt parts of the globe, and policy ſtrengthened our connexions with the moſt civilized; when our country is filled with large flouriſhing towns, and even prides itſelf in a vaſt, opulent, and ſplendid metropolis; I could not but think the charge was a little aggravated, or that your Lordſhip had forgotten to ſpeak of *England*, as it now ſubſiſts, in the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century. It ſeemed to me as if the *Engliſh* might now, at leaſt, deſerve to be conſidered as *men*; and that in our courts and camps, if not in our colleges, we might ſtand a chance of finding what your Lordſhip would not diſdain to qualify with the name of *gentlemen*.

But the other repreſentation was more favorable to your Lordſhip's cauſe: and out of that repreſentation aroſe the ſeveral BARBARITIES, with which you thought fit to mortify and alarm us.

THE firſt fire of your zeal is ſpent on that ſwarm of PREJUDICES, with which our *Engliſh*, or at leaſt provincial, youth are commonly over-run.

PREJUDICES, my Lord, is an equivocal term; and may as well mean right opinions taken upon truſt, and deeply rooted in the mind, as falſe and abſurd opinions, ſo derived and grown into it.

THE *former* of theſe will do no hurt; on the contrary, perhaps, the very beſt part of education is employed in the culture of them.

BUT admit, they are of the *latter* ſort: ſtill they may be only the exceſſes of right principles and notions. And in that caſe, I ſhould doubt whether the evil be of conſequence enough to deſerve your indignation. Perhaps, no man has enough of certain virtues, that does not carry

carry them ſomething too far. The juſt degree, the preciſe mean, is a nice point to hit. The condition of our common nature is ſuch, that we either overſhoot the mark, or fall ſhort of it; and your Lordſhip eaſily apprehends which is the more convenient as well as more generous part, in this moral archery.

Besides, reflexion and experience will come in, ſoon enough to moderate theſe exceſſes. So that, for my part, though our young patriot ſhould happen to entertain the extravagant conceit, you diverted yourſelf with, of the ſoil and climate of *Old England*, I ſhould take that for no great objection to his home-breeding, and ſhould, poſſibly, not be over-forward to diſabuſe him of ſuch honeſt errors.

Surely, my Lord, there are certain *aſſociations* of ideas, which, however oddly formed, your Lordſhip would be ſomething loth to undo.

To take your own inſtance: What if the ideas of liberty chanced to be cloſely connected with thoſe of *Old England*; ſo as, by the magic of this union, to convert her rude heaths and barren mountains into pleaſureable landſkips; would you be forward, if you had it in your power, to diſſolve this charm, and, by ſetting thoſe objects in their true and proper light, diſenchant the mind, at the ſame time, from the idea, or warm love at leaſt, of *Engliſh* liberty?

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

You know well, I perceive, how to chuſe your inſtances. The force of this, you ſuppoſe, will hardly be loſt on him, who profeſſes himſelf an adorer of that liberty. But, under favour, I ſee no ſuch inconvenience, as you ſuggeſt, in putting aſunder two things which truth and nature had no hand in bringing together. LIBERTY has charms enough

to

to attach the mind, wherever the place of her abode be; and I have never heard that the lovelineſs of her form is impaired, or even diſgraced, by the homelineſs of her habitation.

MR. LOCKE.

It may be ſo; and the reaſon, as in the caſe of the more ſelfiſh affections, is, That the habitation of our idol, whatever be our worſhip, is rarely thought homely. But convince us that our country is ſcarce worth contending for, and, as lovely as its Goddeſs Liberty may appear to enamoured eyes, the generality of her votaries will, I doubt, be ſomething ſlack in her defence.

But, after all, an illuſtration muſt not be queſtioned at this rate. It is enough, that your Lordſhip ſees I am not for diſcarding Principles, under the opprobrious name of Prejudices. The tender minds of youth are to be treated with indulgence.

dulgence. If they put forth too faſt, and too luxuriantly, let the ordinary methods of culture be applied to them. A little dreſſing and pruning, at fit ſeaſons, may do more good, than *tranſplanting*: a fatal experiment, in many caſes; which, in checking the immoderate vigour of its growth, kills the tree, or, at beſt, brings on a languiſhing and dwarfiſh imbecillity.

If, indeed, by Prejudices you mean *vicious principles*, properly ſo called; that is, vicious in themſelves, as well as in the degree: theſe, it is certain, muſt be rooted up; and the ſooner, the better: but then there is no need of croſſing the ſeas for the benefit of ſuch an operation.

For the proper cure of ſuch prejudices, as I take it, is to be made by the application of thoſe truths that are common to all climes; not by the partial manners or opinions which ariſe out of

of them in this or that more poliſhed ſociety.

But your Lordſhip, I obſerved, as though you had taken up this charge of Prejudices purely to introduce the ſatire on *Old England*, was content to drop it, as ſoon as it had ſerved your turn. You exchanged it, however, for *another* of more importance, THE LOW, SORDID, AND IMMORAL HABITS; which ſtrike into the lives and manners of our youth, and are, as you conceive, epidemical and incurable in this Iſland.

It may be true, that too much of the complaint is well founded. The taſte of our provincial gentry may be ſomething coarſe; and their houſes, none of the beſt ſchools of civility and politeneſs: ſo that low and even immoral habits may be, and, I doubt, too often are, the fruit of an ordinary domeſtic education. But then what remedy does your Lordſhip preſcribe

preſcribe for the removal of them? Why, you ſend them abroad with all their imperfections upon their heads; to get rid of their bad habits, as they can, and to pick up better, as they will: or, do you perhaps imagine that the ill qualities, they take out with them, will drop off, of themſelves? and that the good ones, they ſtand in need of, like new leaves in the ſpring, will immediately put forth and take their places?

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I DO but imagine, that bad habits are only to be expelled by better; and that therefore the readieſt way for our countrymen to get quit of their ill manners, is, to force them into good company. And, with your leave, I ſee nothing very abſurd or unreaſonable in this imagination.

MR. LOCKE.

CERTAINLY not, in preſcribing good habits as a cure for bad ones. But your Lordſhip

Lordſhip had done well to ſhew what there is in a foreign air, that is ſo propitious to good habits, as that none but ſuch can thrive in it; or, if there be a mixture of good and bad, as with us, how your traveller ſhall be ſecured againſt an ill choice. Otherwiſe, our young ſpark may pick up new habits indeed; but they may only be different from what he took from home, not better or more reaſonable.

I DOUBT, my Lord, that, when ſuch rude and untutored boys find themſelves removed from that reſtraint which the eye of a parent, though but little accuſtomed to civility himſelf, impoſed upon them, they will rather give way to a freer indulgence of their own froward humours, than be in any diſpoſition to check and reform them. What inclination will ſuch perſons have to benefit by good company? or how indeed will they gain admittance into it?

I AP-

I APPEAL to your own obſervation, whether, when this ſort of ill-educated people get abroad, and ſettle for a time in ſome frequented city, their uſual way be not to keep at diſtance from the better company of the place, and to flock together into little knots and clubs of their own countrymen, or of ſuch others as are moſt reſembling in taſte and manners to themſelves; where all their low humours are freely indulged, and even inflamed, by the mutual ſociety and countenance of one another. This, your Lordſhip knows, is moſt frequently the caſe; while the obſequious tutor is at length more likely to be ſwayed by the importunity, and perverted by the ill example, of his diſciples, than they are to be reſtrained by his advice and authority.

BUT, though foreign travel ſhould be indeed a remedy for the miſchiefs, complained of, I ſtill queſtion whether it

would be a *proper* one. Suppoſe our young gentleman to be of ſo pliant a make, as to lay aſide his ruſtic and illiberal habits in complaiſance to the better company, he is obliged to live with: does it immediately follow, that he will adopt none but what are fit for him to aſſume; and, with ſo raw and undiſcerning a judgment as he carried out with him, that he will have the ſkill to ſelect only and aſſume ſuch manners as are moſt becoming and ornamental?

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

As if one needs be in any pain, on that head; when the habits, I ſpoke of, are not only different from thoſe he muſt aſſume abroad, but the very reverſe of them!

MR. LOCKE.

ALAS, your Lordſhip is not to be told, that the reverſe of wrong is not always right. Even in the inſtance your Lordſhip puts, a young man may be poliſhed indeed

indeed out of his ruſticity; yet, if he have no better rule to go by, than the faſhion of the place where he lives, he may eaſily wear himſelf into the contrary defect, an effeminate and unmanly foppery. And, for the probability of ſuch miſcarriage, your Lordſhip is again referred to your own experience and obſervation.

As to what I take to be the proper remedy for theſe barbarities, that is another queſtion, which I may afterwards find occaſion to explain to you more at large. For the preſent, I muſt take leave to conclude, that, under the circumſtances here ſuppoſed, foreign travel is generally an *inſufficient*, always an *improper*, cure for them.

Your Lordſhip indeed goes further. You contend, that, if theſe ſordid and dirty habits could by any means be expelled, ſtill our *Engliſh* education is ſo eſſentially

eſſentially bad, that no liberal or graceful manners could be derived from it. And here your Lordſhip's rhetoric expatiates in full ſecurity. You ſeem confident that, though a method might be found out for making reaſonable men, yet our home-breeding is abſolutely incapable of furniſhing fine gentlemen.

On this occaſion it was, that the ſervile diſcipline of our ſchools, and the pedant tutorage of our colleges, afforded ample ſcope to your reſentment. From an over-charged picture of both theſe, your Lordſhip finds means to dreſs up ſuch a prodigy of ill manners, as muſt be the ſcorn, or pity, of all good company: which, to move our pity, or our ſcorn the more, your Lordſhip, I remember, took care to contraſt to the eaſy, the aſſured, the all-ſufficient air of a finiſhed traveller.

To this triumphant part of your harangue, I have only to oppoſe ſome plain and ſimple truths.

The aukward baſhfulneſs of a young man is a ſin which, I know, admits of no expiation, in good company. However, what good company will not pardon, it will ſoon remove. And, till that bleſſed time comes, let it *firſt* be conſidered that the modeſty of ingenuous youth, though a terrible vice in itſelf, is yet favourable to ſome virtues. It is full of deference and reſpect; it preſerves innocence; nouriſhes emulation; and, till reaſon be of age to take the rein into her hands, ſuſpends and controls all the paſſions. Nay, if it did nothing more than diſpoſe a young man to obſerve much and talk little; even this advantage might be ſome recompence for the ill figure it gives him in the eyes of your Lordſhip's good company.

Have

HAVE a care, my Lord, leſt, by taking off this reſtraint too ſoon, you emancipate your favoured youth from every principle of honour, and let him run headlong into worthleſſneſs, diſſolution, and ruin!

I KNOW what the world is ready to think of this talk. But a truce with the world. I am a Philoſopher, your Lordſhip knows: nay, your Lordſhip, too, is a Philoſopher. Let us for once then hazard an unfaſhionable truth, that modeſty in a young man is his grace and ornament; and that a confident young booby, not a baſhful one, is the prodigy that needs the expiation.

CONSIDER, *further*, my Lord, that baſhfulneſs is not ſo much the effect of an ill education, as the proper gift and proviſion of wiſe nature. Every ſtage of life has its own ſet of manners, that is ſuited to it, and beſt becomes it. Each

is beautiful in its ſeaſon; and you might as well quarrel with the child's rattle, and advance him directly to the boy's top and ſpan-farthing, as expect from diffident youth the manly confidence of riper age.

LAMENTABLE in the mean time, I am ſenſible, is the condition of my good lady; who, eſpecially if ſhe be a mighty well-bred one, is perfectly ſhocked at the boy's aukwardneſs, and calls out on the taylor, the dancing-maſter, the player, the travelled tutor, any body and every body, to relieve her from the pain of ſo diſgraceful an object.

SHE ſhould however be told, if a proper ſeaſon and words ſoft enough could be found to convey the information, that the odious thing, which diſturbs her ſo much, is one of nature's ſignatures impreſſed on that age; that baſhfulneſs is but the paſſage from one ſeaſon of life

to

to another; and that, as the body is then the leaſt graceful, when the limbs are making their laſt efforts and haſtening to their juſt proportion, ſo the manners are the leaſt eaſy and diſengaged, when the mind, conſcious and impatient of its imperfections, is ſtretching all its faculties to their full growth.

If I had the honour of her Ladyſhip's ear, I might further add, for her comfort, that as to this over-whelming modeſty, which muffles merit, the boy, if ſhe have but patience, will preſently outgrow it, as he does his cloaths; that when this cloak of ſhame has done its work of warming and invigorating his young virtue, it may ſafely be laid aſide, or rather will drop off of-itſelf; and that, as poor and ſheepiſh a thing as maſter now is, he may turn out, in the end, as forward a ſpark as the beſt of them.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

FYE, Mr. LOCKE; what, my philoſopher give into this gaiety! he, who reproached me juſt now for the way of raillery and declamation!

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip does well to upbraid me for treating in ſo light a manner what deſerves, indeed, the moſt indignant reproof. For, what is this endeavour to quench ingenuous ſhame, but a blaſphemous attempt to counteract the deſigns of Providence, and obliterate, by main force, one of the moſt natural, as well as moſt precious, diſtinctions of early youth? Modeſty is the bluſh of budding reaſon and virtue: and if art could ſucceed in the prepoſterous project of forcing the fruit without the bud, not only this prime grace of the year would be loſt, but the production itſelf, though it might be wondered at as a rarity, could never pretend

pretend to the flavour and ripeneſs of that which is of nature's own growth.

In plain words, my Lord, modeſty is the ornament of youth; and the earneſt, or rather the proper cauſe, of all that is excellent in riper age. It graces the boy, and, in due time, forms the man: whereas, in ſuppreſſing this young virtue, you precipitate, indeed, a ſort of manhood; which, yet, in effect, is only a perpetual boyiſm, or rather a portentous mixture of both ſtates, without the virtues of either.

I am far from meaning by all this, and your Lordſhip will be as far from ſuſpecting me to mean, that an eaſy unconſtrained manner is not an amiable and agreeable thing. I am only for waiting the proper time of its appearance; which nature makes a little later than our impatient fancies are ready to preſcribe to her.

CONSIDER too, this polite accompliſhment, this ſupreme finiſhing of a well-formed character, can only be acquired, except in ſome extraordinary inſtances, by long inceſſant uſe and habit in converſation; which, beſides the unfitneſs of the thing in other reſpects, would diſſipate the young mind too much, and take it off from thoſe other more important purſuits, which are proper to that age.

NAY, I might further ſay, and with much truth, that politeneſs, in your Lordſhip's, at leaſt the court-ſenſe of the word, is not to be attained by the ableſt men; and when it is attainable, would generally do hurt, I mean beyond a certain degree, to its poſſeſſors.

No very great man was ever what the world calls, perfectly polite. Men of that ſtamp cannot afford ſuch attention to

to little things, as is neceſſary to form and complete that character.

AND even to men of a common make, that exceſſive ſedulity about grace and manner, which conſtitutes the eſſence of good breeding, would be injurious; as it tends to cramp their faculties, effeminate the temper, and break that force and vigour of mind which is requiſite in a man of buſineſs for the diſcharge of his duty, in this free country.

So that, for any thing I ſee, this exquiſite eaſe of good breeding ſhould be left to the ambition of ſtill inferior ſpirits, of ſuch indeed as are conſcious to themſelves of an incapacity for any other.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THE conceſſion is gracious; and the danger, no doubt, alarming, leſt our ſenators and men of buſineſs ſhould be diſabled

diſabled for their high functions by an exceſs of good manners. Yet 'tis ſome conſolation, that at preſent I ſee no ſymptoms of that enfeebling politeneſs among ſuch of the ornaments of either houſe, as I have the honour to be acquainted with.

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip may divert yourſelf as you think fit, with an old man's fears. But if this mode of travelling, which has taken ſo much with us ſince the peace [*g*], ſhould continue for any time, the day may come but too ſoon, when theſe fancies of mine will be realized: when politeneſs ſhall be fatal to ability of every kind; and, at leaſt in the higher ranks of life, when our countrymen ſhall be too well bred to be good for any thing.

AND now, having ventured ſo far, ſhall I proceed one ſtep further, and take to

[*a*] Of *Ryſwick*, in 1697.

myſelf

myſelf the privilege of an old man, to expreſs my ſenſe of this whole matter, a little unfaſhionably? The mighty value, that is ſet upon manners, comes, as I have already hinted, from a quarter, which, though it may imprint reſpect on a perſon of your Lordſhip's age and gallantry, muſt not pretend to be ſo much conſidered by gray hairs. If you can forgive the liberty, I will then, at length, ſpeak out, and ſay, They are the ladies, only, or chiefly, that have affixed ſuch an idea of merit to this envied quality of good-breeding; and that, as appearances are thought to ſway full enough with that delicate ſex, they may perhaps have advanced the credit of it ſomething higher than ſuch an accompliſhment deſerves.

And when I further conſider the mighty influence which theſe fair diſpenſers of reputation muſt needs have on our gallant and courtly youth, I cannot wonder

wonder that the mode of foreign travel is become ſo faſhionable. Nay, I am half inclined to ſuppoſe, that, in this debate between us, I have rather your politeneſs to contend with, than your judgment: and that, if your Lordſhip would deal roundly with me, your anſwer on this occaſion would be the ſame with HIS, who (as I have heard you tell the ſtory) being queſtioned by his friends why a perſon of his acknowledged ſenſe and bravery would accept the challenge of a coxcomb, thought it vindication enough of himſelf to reply, "that, for the *men*, "he could ſafely truſt their judgment; "but how ſhould he appear, at night, "before the *maids of honour* [*b*]?"

WHETHER I preſume too much in this fancy, is not material. It is enough to ſay, that what there is of uſe or beauty in polite carriage will come of itſelf, with a little experience of the world and good

[*b*] *Advice to an Author*, P. II. S. III.

company;

company; and ſhall not, with my conſent, be purchaſed at the expence of far better things.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

NOR with mine: for, with all the courtlineſs and gallantry you make me maſter of, I never intended by the *good company*, I mentioned with ſo much reſpect, either thoſe fooliſh men, or women, who prefer the forward aſſurance of their boys to every other conſideration. I only think that a reaſonable attention to the manners of our noble youth is a matter of much conſequence; as early impreſſions of this ſort are neceſſary to fit them for the commerce of the world, from which alone they can hope to derive their beſt and moſt ſolid inſtruction: and your gaiety on the fair ſex muſt not reſtrain me from agreeing with them, in this inſtance, that I ſee not how that world can be read and ſtudied, as it ought to be, without travelling.

MR.

MR. LOCKE.

YES; now your Lordſhip comes to an important point indeed. From the poliſh of manners, the leaſt conſiderable, and the eaſieſt to be attained of all the parts of good breeding, your Lordſhip, as I now remember, roſe at once to a ſubject of real conſequence, I mean, THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD; a ſcience, as you well termed it, the moſt profound and uſeful. And if this MASTER-SCIENCE were to be acquired by means of early travel, our young gentleman ſhould have my conſent to ſhut up his books, and ſet forth on his adventures, directly.

BUT, good my Lord, conſider with yourſelf the difficulty of this ſtudy; the ripeneſs of age and judgment neceſſary for entering upon it; much more, for making a real progreſs in it.

AND

And why, as I before hinted, will your Lordſhip be ſo impatient to come at the end, without the means? Why, in ſuch haſte to build up men, when nature has allotted a ſeaſon for their being boys?

Without doubt, if our youth could ſtart up men, at once, armed at all points, as the fable has it, and thoroughly furniſhed for the buſineſs of life, we ſhould gladly accept this benefit, and might then be content to overlook or ſuppreſs all the cares of education. But this is not the condition of humanity. Its improvements of every kind are ſlow and gradual. Time and attention form each; and it is only through the right application of preceding ſtates, that we arrive, at length, at the maturity of human wiſdom. Let the child and boy be allowed to perfect themſelves in what belongs to thoſe conditions, and it will then be time enough

enough to provide for the manly character.

REFLECT with yourſelf, my Lord. When the young unfurniſhed traveller is carried out into the world, with no principles to poize his conduct, no maxims to direct his judgment, what can be expected from this untimely enterprize? what, but fluctuating morals, and fortuitous deliberations? He has not ſo much as the idea of what conſtitutes *man*. How then ſhould he obtain any real and uſeful knowledge of the human character?

IF by a knowledge of the world, be only meant a knowledge of the external modes and cuſtoms of it, this, no doubt, were beſt acquired by ſurveying them as they preſent themſelves in the various tribes and ſocieties of mankind. But your Lordſhip means more than this: you underſtand a knowledge of a higher

kind; ſuch as reſpects the creature *man*, conſidered in his eſſential parts, his *reaſon* and his *paſſions*. This is a different kind of ſtudy, my Lord, from that other. Any one that has eyes, is qualified to obſerve the ſhapes and maſks of men; but to penetrate their interior frame, to inſpect their proper diſpoſitions and characters, is the buſineſs of a well-informed and well-diſciplined underſtanding.

CAN your Lordſhip ſeriouſly expect that a young boy ſhould comprehend the effect, which government, policy, inſtitution, and other circumſtances of life, have on the pliant reaſon of mankind? or, that he ſhould have the ſkill to diſentangle the various folds and intricacies, in which their real characters lie involved, through the inſidious and diſcordant working of the paſſions? He ſhould ſurely know what truth and reaſon is, before he can derive any benefit to himſelf from the diſcourſe of men: and he

should have carefully watched the movements of his own heart, before he presume to analyze, as your Lordship expreſſed it, the characters of others.

You ſee, then, the unſeaſonableneſs and inutility of foreign travel, as to the caſe in hand, even on the ſuppoſition that our traveller were admitted into what is called, the beſt company. But how ſhall this privilege be obtained? In what country can it be thought that the politeneſs of eminent men will condeſcend to a free and intimate communication with boys, of whatever promiſing hopes, or illuſtrious quality? Certain ſlight and formal civilities, your Lordſhip knows, are the utmoſt that can be looked for; and are indeed the whole of what our ill-prepared traveller is capable.

Your Lordſhip did well to remind me of ſuch ſocieties as thoſe in which you and I have, at times, been engaged. The

The recollection is, of courſe, flattering and agreeable. But let us preſume upon ourſelves, my Lord; the LIMBORCHS and LE CLERCS are not ſo obvious to every body, as they were to us; or, if they were, every body would not profit ſo well by them. And if private ſcholars be thus inacceſſible, how ſhall we think to intrude on the buſineſs and occupations of experienced magiſtrates and miniſters? And, putting both theſe out of the queſtion, who remain for the tutorage and inſtruction of theſe travelled boys, but ſuch raw, unaccompliſhed companions, as they left at home, and may find every where in abundance?

STILL my objections go further, What if, by uncommon ſagacity and good luck, ſome acquaintance be made with ſuperior perſons, and ſome little inſight at length be gained into their real characters? Of what mighty advantage will this be in life, when their buſineſs lies amongſt

other men; and when the ſame induſtry and attention had brought them acquainted with the characters of thoſe, they muſt act and live with? Foreigners are neither an eaſier ſtudy than our own countrymen, nor a more uſeful one. The very modes and forms of external breeding catch the attention of unexperienced youth; and are ſo many obſtacles to their real progreſs in this ſcience. And, when all is done, the modifications of the human character, as exiſting at home, and exhibited in the lives and actions of their fellow-citizens, are, as I ſaid, the proper objects of their curioſity.

In ſhort, the utmoſt I can allow to this diſcipline of foreign travel, under the idea of its furniſhing *a knowledge of the world*, is, That it may poſſibly wear a young man into ſome ſtudied and apiſh reſemblance of the models, he copies from, in his deportment and manners; or that the various ſcenes, he has paſſed through,

through, may furniſh matter, at his return, for much unprofitable babble in converſation: but, that he ſhould come back fraught with any ſolid information concerning men and things, ſuch as, in your Lordſhip's ſublime phraſe, may fit him to appear with luſtre in the court or ſenate of his own country, is what I can never promiſe myſelf from this faſhionable mode of education.

I AM even diſpoſed to promiſe myſelf the leſs from it, for an *obſervation*, I have ſometimes had the opportunity of making.

AN old man has ſo little about him to provoke envy, that he may be allowed to make the beſt of his former ſucceſſes. And though I pride myſelf in *one*, of a very delicate nature, the boaſt of it will not be ill taken even there, where your Lordſhip, with all your pretenſions, would be heard with no patience. In ſhort, I

indulge myſelf in the vanity of ſaying that I have, in my time, been well with the fair ſex, and have even been countenanced ſo far as to be admitted into a degree of acquaintance and familiarity with ſome ladies of the higheſt quality and diſtinction. And of theſe, I have conſtantly obſerved, that, though bred up at home, they had a manifeſt advantage over their travelled brothers, I was going to ſay, in learning and ſcience, but certainly in true politeneſs, good ſenſe, and even a knowledge of the world.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I UNDERSTAND this civility to the ladies, as a decent atonement for your late freedoms with them. In this light, I ſhould be unwilling to cavil at it: and yet I ſee not, how your high encomiums on the ſuperior good ſenſe and politeneſs of theſe home-bred ladies can conſiſt with the paſſion, you before cenſured

in

in them, for foreign travel, as favourable, in their opinion, to the production of ſuch virtues.

MR. LOCKE,

My conſiſtency in this repreſentation, I doubt, is leſs queſtionable, than my civility. For the ladies, on whom I beſtowed thoſe high, but juſt encomiums, were chiefly ſuch as I had known in my younger days, before the paſſion for travel had got among them. Now indeed the caſe is altering apace, and the effects are anſwerable. The virtues of the *Engliſh* ladies, when they ſtaid at home, were more conſpicuous than thoſe of our travelled gentlemen. Now that they, too, begin to travel, their follies are, alſo, more glaring: in either caſe, I am willing to own, for the credit of my civility, from the ſame reaſon, that both good and ill qualities ſtrike us moſt, when *ſet* in the precious metal of that ſex.

HOWEVER, from the whole of my experience, I muſt needs conclude, that this finiſhing of a travelled education only ſerves, to corrupt good qualities, or inflame bad ones.

BUT the ladies are not in my province. If they were, a knowledge of the world is not the leading virtue I might wiſh to ſee them poſſeſſed of. In the men, I confeſs, this accompliſhment is of more importance; and I am therefore ſolicitous that no well-meaning youth, whom it ſo much concerns to gain a knowledge of the world, ſhould be miſled in his ſearch of it.

SERIOUSLY, my Lord, the WORLD, which I am forced to repeat ſo often, is a ſolemn word, and the ſtudy of it has an air of ſomething plauſible and impoſing. But thoſe, who know what the world is, will think it beſt that a young man

man begin with what is the firſt and laſt concern of every man, the ſtudy of himſelf; and, if, in due time, he come to underſtand, and, ſtill more, to value as they deſerve, the characters of the great and good men of his own country, the opprobrious name of *home-bred* will not hinder him from acquiring the beſt fruit, with which a knowledge of the world, rightly underſtood, can furniſh him.

For, my Lord, I muſt not, on ſo inviting an occaſion as this, conceal an odd fancy of mine from your Lordſhip.

The affair of *knowing the world*, about which weak and fantaſtic people make ſo much noiſe, and which one hears them perpetually inſiſting upon with ſo much ſufficiency, is of all others the niceſt and moſt momentous ſtep that is made in education. And, though volumes have been written to teach us how we may beſt become ſcholars, orators,

orators, courtiers, what not; yet not one leaf do I ever remember to have ſeen, compoſed by any capable man, that inſtructs us in the proper way of getting into this great ſecret.

It is not a matter to be entered upon, if I were vain enough to think myſelf capable of it, in this caſual converſation; but thus much I may preſume to ſay, that whoever deſigns to let a young man into a ſafe and uſeful knowledge of the world, muſt do it in a way very remote from that which has hitherto been taken.

A YOUNG man, they tell us, muſt know the world; therefore, ſay they, puſh him into it at once, that he may acquire that knowledge, which his own experience, and not another's, muſt procure for him.

I, on the other hand, take upon me to ſay, Therefore keep him out of that world, as long as you can; and when you commit him to it, let the ableſt friend or tutor lend him his beſt experience, to conduct him gradually, cautiouſly, imperceptibly, into an acquaintance with it.

You aſk the reaſon of this myſterious procedure; yet methinks it ſhould be obvious enough. From *ſixteen to one and twenty* (a period, in which the cares of an ordinary education ceaſe, or are much relaxed) is that preciſe ſeaſon of life, which requires all the attention of the moſt vigilant, and all the addreſs of the wiſeſt, governor. The paſſions are then opening; curioſity awake; and the young mind ready to take its ply from the ſeducements of faſhion, and creditable example.

Nor

Nor is this the worſt. An education, that deſerves the name, has inculcated maxims of honour, and probity; has inſpired the nobleſt ſentiments of moral duty; has impreſſed on the mind a veneration for all the virtues, and an equal horror for all the vices, of humanity.

Full of theſe ſublime ideas, which his parents, his tutors, his books, and even his own ingenuous heart has rendered familiar to him, the fatal time is at hand, when our well-inſtructed youth is now to make his entrance into the world: but, good God, what a world! not that which he has ſo long read, or dreamt of; but a world, new, ſtrange, and inconſiſtent with all his former notions and expectations.

He enters this ſcene with awe; and contemplates it with aſtoniſhment. Vice, he ſees aſſured, proſperous, and triumphant;

umphant; virtue, diſcountenanced, unſucceſsful, and degraded. He joins the firſt croud, that preſents itſelf to him: a loud laugh ariſes; and the edge of their ridicule is turned on ſobriety, induſtry, honeſty, generoſity, or ſome other of thoſe qualities, he has hitherto been moſt fond of.

He quits this clamorous ſet with diſdain; and is glad to unite himſelf with *another*, better dreſſed, better mannered, in all reſpects more ſpecious and attractive. His ſimplicity makes him for ſome time the dupe of this plauſible ſociety: but their occaſional hints, their negligent ſarcaſms, their ſallies of wit, and polite raillery on all that he has been accuſtomed to hold ſacred, ſhew him at laſt that he has only changed his company, not mended it.

This diſcovery leads him to another. He attends to the lives of theſe well-bred

bred people, and finds them of a piece with their manners and converſation; ſhewy indeed and, on firſt view, decorous: but, in effect, deformed by every impotent and ſelfiſh paſſion; waſted in ſloth and luxury; in ruinous play; criminal intrigues; or, at beſt, unprofitable amuſements.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THIS painting, methinks, is a little ſtrong. Beſides, you might ſurely have provided better company for your young inſpector of the world, than that ſhameleſs crew, or this corrupt one.

MR. LOCKE.

I TAKE up, as he muſt do, with ſuch company as the world is moſt apt to throw in our way; and the colouring, your Lordſhip knows, is modeſt enough for the occaſion.

BUT I attend our boy-adventurer no further in his progreſs into the world, and

and return now to aſk you, what effect your Lordſhip thinks theſe ſtrange unexpected ſcenes muſt naturally have upon him? Certainly one or other of theſe two; either that the ſcorn of virtue, he every where obſerves, will by degrees abate his reverence of it, and at length obliterate all the better impreſſions of his education; or, if theſe ſhould ſtill keep their hold of his young ingenuous breaſt, that he will entertain the moſt indignant ſentiments of mankind, and ſuffer himſelf to be carried by them into a ſour and ſullen miſanthropy, at leaſt; perhaps into a ſceptical and prophane impiety.

I HAVE ſeldom known a young man of ſenſe and parts, educated in this way, eſcape from one or other of theſe miſchiefs.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

BUT why then bring him up with thoſe high notions of mankind, of which the world muſt preſently diſabuſe him,

at

at the expence eitheir of his innocence, or good nature?

MR. LOCKE.

THAT queſtion had been natural enough from moſt men. But your Lordſhip knows very well, that, in this moral diſcipline, as in every other, ideas of excellence are to be imprinted on the young mind, and the moſt conſummate models propoſed for imitation: on this certain principle, That, whoever would be moderately accompliſhed in any art, and moſt of all in this ſupreme art of life, muſt take his aim high, and aſpire to abſolute perfection. A painter or ſtatuary of the loweſt form, your Lordſhip knows, is taught to work after a MADONNA *of* RAPHAEL, or a VENUS *of* MEDICIS; yet is not likely to meet with either, among his acquaintance.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THE obſervation is ſurely juſt; and I could only mean that thoſe high fancies ſhould

ſhould be checked and moderated in due time, before our entrance into that world, which, it is foreſeen, will ſo little correſpond to them.

MR. LOCKE.

And what is that *due time*, your Lordſhip ſets apart for this delicate operation?

Is it, before the young boy commences his travels? But that, according to your Lordſhip's ſcheme, is ſo early, that the regimen, you would now abate, has not taken its full effect, and his weak unconfirmed virtue would die under the experiment.

Is it then, when his travels are already begun? And is the ſage tutor, your Lordſhip anxiouſly flies to, as to ſome god, on every occaſion of diſtreſs, to charge himſelf with the ſolution of this difficulty? Alas! now it is too late. You have brought the boy into the

ſcene. He will ſee and judge for himſelf. The torrent bears him away: the inſtant impreſſion is too ſtrong to be counteracted by the feeble and, now, diſguſting admonitions of a tutor.

See then, if the proper way, to ſecure him from theſe inconveniences, be not, To keep him yet at a diſtance from the world; and, when you let him into ſome knowledge of it, to do it ſeaſonably, gradually, and circumſpectly: to take the veil off from ſome parts, and leave it ſtill upon others: to paint what he does not ſee, and to hint at more than you paint: to confine him, at firſt, to the beſt company, and prepare him to make allowances even for the beſt: to preſerve in his breaſt the love of excellence, and encourage in him the generous ſentiments, he has ſo largely imbibed, and ſo perfectly reliſhes: yet temper, if you can, his zeal with candour; inſinuate to him the prerogative of ſuch a virtue, as his,

ſo

ſo early formed, and ſo happily cultivated; and bend his reluctant ſpirit to ſome aptneſs of pity towards the ill-inſtructed and the vicious: by degrees to open to him the real condition of that world, to which he is approaching; yet ſo as to preſent to him, at the ſame time, the certain inevitable miſery of conforming to it: laſt of all, to ſhew him ſome examples of that vice, which he muſt learn to bear in others, though deteſt in himſelf; to watch the effect theſe examples have upon him; and, as you find his diſpoſitions incline, to fortify his abhorrence of vice, or excite his commiſeration of the vicious: in a word (for I am not now directing a tutor, but ſuggeſting, in very general terms, my ideas of his office) to inform the minds of youth with ſuch gradual intelligence, as may prepare them to ſee the world without ſurprize, and live in it without danger.

THIS is that important chapter, which I preſumed to ſay no inſtitutor of youth had yet compoſed, or ſo much as touched upon, in a treatiſe of education. You will learn from this brief ſummary of its contents, what, in my opinion, ſhould be the employment of thoſe precious years, which are uſually thrown away upon foreign travel.

IN earneſt, my Lord, there is a fatal miſtake in this matter. People ſpeak of a knowledge of the world, as what may be acquired at any time, and, for its importance, cannot be acquired too ſoon. Alas! they forget, that a long and careful preparation is neceſſary, before we are qualified ſo much as to enter on this taſk; and that they, who are lateſt in ſetting out, will arrive the ſooneſt, certainly the ſafeſt, at their journey's end.

LORD

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

BUT where ſhall this mighty work of preparation be carried on? And in what privileged ſanctuary ſhall our good young man be kept from the ſight and contagion of this wicked world, and yet be gradually forming for the uſe and practice of it?

MR. LOCKE.

WHERE, does your Lordſhip aſk? Why, in his college; in a friend's, or his father's houſe; any where, in ſhort, rather than in a foreign country, where every wholeſome reſtraint is taken off, and the young mind left a prey to every ill impreſſion.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

AND are there no inconveniences, on the other hand, which a provident parent may be ſuppoſed to foreſee, and may be willing to guard againſt?

MR. LOCKE.

I UNDERSTAND your Lordſhip. I know, that, for want of better arguments in ſupport of this foreign breeding, weak or unworthy parents are ready to take up with ſuch as theſe:

THEY tell us, eſpecially if of rank and quality, that their children have ſuffered more than enough already, in their paſſage through our public and vulgar ſchools; that, together with many illiberal habits, they have contracted many low and illiberal friendſhips, which are, in all reaſon, to be ſhaken off; that theſe unworthy companions follow them to the Univerſity, and are, if not the bane, yet the diſhonour and incumbrance of their future lives; that an abſence of ſome years abroad looſens theſe haſty and ill-timed connexions; and leaves them, on their return, at full liberty to contract others, more ſuitable to their birth

birth and quality, and more conducive to their views of fortune, as well as of reputation, in the world; that indeed they might remove the young man immediately from his ſchool into their own houſe; but that much of their time is neceſſarily ſpent in the metropolis, the licence of which is not to be guarded againſt by any care of their own, or of the beſt governor; that his low illiberal acquaintance would haunt him even there; at leaſt, that the youth of his own age and rank would naturally flock about him, and, under a thouſand pretences of civility or amuſement, engage him in all the follies, and perhaps the vices, of this great town; that, on the whole, his only refuge from theſe miſchiefs is in the way of foreign travel; whence, at length, he may return in riper age and with better judgment to take his ſtation in the world.

To this popular talk (which your Lordſhip, I ſuppoſe, glanced at, but would not condeſcend to enforce directly) it is enough to reply, that part of the inconveniences, here enumerated, are feigned at pleaſure, and the reſt exaggerated; that the authority of a father, if he deſerve that name, in concurrence with honeſt friends and an ordinary governor, will prevent them all, or at leaſt palliate them; and that, to take matters at the worſt, his ſon will be expoſed to ſtill greater inconveniences any where elſe. But in truth I cannot ſee, if a college be excepted againſt, and the buſineſs be to ſee the world, as it is called, why *London* ſhould not be eſteemed as fit a ſcene for the purpoſe, as any other great town in *Europe*. I think it contains as much good company as any other; and I doubt whether it be more licentious; or, if it be, there are three reſtraints upon it, which, I am ſure, will not be found abroad; I mean,

mean, "the parental authority;" "domeſtic government;" and "a regard to reputation, under the eye and notice of his friends."

So that, in every view, whether on your Lordſhip's plan, of entering directly on the great ſtudy of the world, or on mine, of only preparing for it, our young man cannot poſſibly do better, at his years, than ſtay at home; where, if your Lordſhip pleaſe, we will then leave him; at leaſt, till we have tried the force of your next, and, as I remember, LAST argument in behalf of foreign travel, "which "aroſe out of the mighty benefits, ſup-"poſed to attend the ſtudy and cultiva-"tion of what are called the FINE "ARTS; in ſhort, from the luſtre and "importance of the virtuoſo character."

YOUR Lordſhip, who has ſo acknowledged a taſte in theſe things, and of courſe has ſo exquiſite a ſenſe of their value,

value, may be excuſed for enlarging ſo particularly on this head. But to me, who am of a plainer make and cooler diſpoſition, they appear, if not frivolous, yet of little importance, when compared with thoſe other things, which are the proper and more immediate objects of education.

It would, I doubt, diſguſt your Lordſhip, ſhould I ſpeak my mind freely of them; or even inſinuate, that I take theſe ſtudies, when entered upon in early youth, and propoſed as matters of ſerious purſuit and application, to have indeed the moſt pernicious tendency; as breaking the nerves and force of the mind, and inſpiring I know not what of a trifling and ſuperfluous vanity.

To render theſe purſuits ſerviceable in any degree, or even harmleſs, they ſhould in all reaſon be poſtponed to riper years, when the confirmed judgment will

of

of courſe take them but for what they are, for nothing more than elegant and polite amuſements.

NOT to inſiſt, that to excel in this ſpecies of taſte, as in all others, a previous foundation is required, of reflexion and good ſenſe: for I agree with your favourite poet; of every polite ſtudy and indulgence even of the imagination,

SAPERE, *eſt et principium et fons.*

THESE and ſtill ſtronger objections might be made to your partiality for the *fine arts*. But I am contented to wave them all; as indeed they would come with an ill grace from one, who muſt acknowledge himſelf to have no particular ſkill or diſcernment in them, and who ſhould not therefore preſume to enter the liſts with ſo conſummate a maſter of them as your Lordſhip.

LORD

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

AND ſo, under the cover of a civil ſpeech, you eſcape from the moſt ſpecious, at leaſt, of thoſe arguments, which are alledged in favour of an early travelled education. For, whether it be true or no, that other accompliſhments may be as well acquired at home, it is paſt a doubt that the polite and liberal arts can only be learnt abroad. And of their uſe and ornament to our noble youth —

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip, I know, can ſay more, and finer things, than you expect I ſhould ſeriouſly diſpute with you, on this occaſion.

I HAVE now, my Lord, (at leaſt if my old memory has not betrayed me) gone over the ſeveral heads and topics of your defence; and ſaid enough, I believe, on each, to ſhew that foreign travel is not,

on

on whatever ſide we view it, the moſt proper method of a young gentleman's education.

THE benefits, you propoſe by it, are either of ſmall account in themſelves, at leaſt of much leſs account than thoſe you muſt ſacrifice to them; or, when their importance is real and confeſſed, may be attained more conveniently in ſome other way, and at ſome other ſeaſon.

FOR, after all I have ſaid, your Lordſhip is not to conclude that I am wholly bent againſt the practice of foreign travel. I am as ſenſible, as any man, of its important uſe, when undertaken at a proper time and by fit perſons. For, though I eſteem it idleneſs, and ſomething worſe, for a young boy to waſte his prime and moſt precious years in ſauntering round *Europe*, yet I know what ends of wiſdom

wiſdom and of virtue may be anſwered by a capable man's ſurvey of it.

But then, my Lord, I reckon that capacity at no vulgar rate. He muſt be of worth and conſideration enough to be received into the wiſeſt, nay the greateſt company. His natural inſight into men and things muſt be quick and penetrating. His faculties muſt all be at their height; his ſtudies matured; and his reading and obſervation extenſive. With theſe accompliſhments, if a man of rank and fortune can find leiſure to employ a few years among the neighbouring nations, I readily agree, his voyage may turn out to his own benefit, and to that of his country.

In this way it may be true, as your Lordſhip inſiſted, that our iſland prejudices will be uſefully worn off, and much real civility and politeneſs be imported among us.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

I THANK you for this conceſſion. Although I cannot yet be convinced of the total impropriety of an earlier voyage, I am pleaſed to find you do not interdict the thing itſelf. Many wiſe perſons among us have even talked at that rate. But you are more reaſonable; and indeed that extravagance was not to be apprehended from your true ſenſe and ſuperior knowledge of human nature.

MR. LOCKE.

I HAVE that eſteem of your Lordſhip's kind opinion, as to be very unwilling to forfeit any ſhare of it. Yet what I have now to advance will, I readily foreſee, expoſe me to ſome riſk, in that particular.

FOR now your Lordſhip has expreſſed your regard for *a ſuperior knowledge of human*

human nature, it emboldens me to add that ſuch knowledge (which I have ſmall right to claim to myſelf) is not ſo be acquired but by the largeſt and moſt extenſive obſervation of the human ſpecies: ſo that I may be found at laſt even a warmer advocate for the uſes of foreign travel, than your Lordſhip.

I HOLD then that the knowledge of human nature (the only knowledge, in the largeſt ſenſe of the expreſſion, deſerving a wiſe man's regard) can never be well attained but by ſeeing it under all its appearances; I mean, not merely, or chiefly, in that fair and well-dreſſed form it wears amid the arts and embelliſhments of our weſtern world; but in its naked ſimplicity, and even deformities; nay, under all its diſguiſes and diſtorſions, ariſing from abſurd governments and monſtrous religions, in every diſtant region and quarter of the globe.

THE

THE ſubject appears to me of that importance, that it almoſt warms me, an old philoſopher as I am, into ſome emulation of your Lordſhip's enthuſiaſm.

I WOULD ſay then, "that, to ſtudy "HUMAN NATURE to purpoſe, a traveller "muſt enlarge his circuit beyond the "bounds of *Europe*. He muſt go, and "catch her undreſſed, nay quite naked, "in *North-America*, and at the Cape of "*Good Hope*. He may then examine how "ſhe appears crampt, contracted, and "buttoned up cloſe in the ſtrait tunic of "law and cuſtom, as in *China* and *Ja-*"*pan*: or, ſpread out, and enlarged "above her common ſize, in the looſe "and flowing robe of enthuſiaſm, among "the Arabs and Saracens: or, laſtly, as "ſhe flutters in the old rags of worn-out "policy and civil government, and almoſt

"ready to run back naked to the de-
"ſerts, as on the *Mediterranean* coaſt of
"*Africa*."

THESE, my Lord, are the proper ſcenes for the philoſopher, for the citizen of the world, to expatiate in. The tour of *Europe* is a paltry thing: a tame, uniform, unvaried proſpect; which affords nothing but the ſame poliſhed manners and artificial policies, ſcarcely diverſified enough to take, or merit, our attention.

IT is from a wider and more extenſive view of mankind that a juſt eſtimate is to be made of the powers of human nature. Hence we collect what its genuine faculties are: what ideas and principles, or if any, are truly innate and eſſential to it: and what changes and modification it is ſuſceptible of from law and cuſtom.

IF

If you think I impoſe too great a taſk on our inquiſitive traveller, my next advice is, That he ſtay at home; read *Europe* in the mirror of his own country, which but too eagerly reflects and flatters every ſtate that dances before its ſurface; and, for the reſt, take up with the beſt information he can get from the books and narratives of the beſt voyagers.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

That is, you diſcourage him from looking abroad into the world of reaſon and civility, the moſt natural ſtate of mankind; and require him to waſte his time and obſervation on ſlaves, madmen, or ſavages; ſtates, in which reaſon and civility have no place, and where humanity itſelf, almoſt, diſappears.

Admirable advice this, to come from a philoſopher! and ſtill better, to ſend your diſciple to take his information of

this unnatural diſordered ſcene from the lying accounts of ignorant, ill-inſtructed, and gaping tale-tellers!

MR. LOCKE.

I WAS afraid, I ſhould not be able to ſecure to myſelf the good opinion, which your Lordſhip was pleaſed to expreſs of my *knowledge of human nature*. This mortifying experience puts an end to my adventurous flights, at once; and forces me back again into the narrower walk, which your Lordſhip ſeems willing to preſcribe to me.

BE it then, as you inſiſt, that an *Engliſh* gentleman's care ſhould be, to accompliſh himſelf in the ſchool of reaſon and civility; to fit himſelf, in ſhort, for that ſtate which your Lordſhip dignifies with the name of *natural*. Still I declare againſt his *European* travels.

THE manners of each ſtate are peculiar to itſelf, and beſt adapted to it. The civility,

civility, that prevails in ſome places on the continent, may be more ſtudied and exquiſite than ours; but not therefore to be preferred before it. Thoſe refinements have had their birth from correſpondent policies; to which they are well ſuited, and from which they receive their whole value. In the more abſolute monarchies of *Europe*, all are courtiers. In our freer monarchy, all ſhould be citizens. Let then the arts of addreſs and inſinuation flouriſh in *France*. Without them, what merit can pretend to ſucceſs, what talents open the way to favour and diſtinction? But let a manlier character prevail here. We have a prince to ſerve, not to flatter: we have a country to embrace, not a court to adore: we have, in a word, objects to purſue, and intereſts to promote, from the care of which our finer neighbours are happily diſburthened.

LET our countrymen then be indulged in the plainneſs, nay, the roughneſs of their manners: but let them atone for this defect, by their uſeful ſenſe, their ſuperior knowledge, their public ſpirit, and, above all, by their unpoliſhed integrity.

WOULD your Lordſhip's favourite Athens have done wiſely (or rather did it do ſo) to exchange the ſimplicity and manly freedom of its antient character, for the fopperies and proſtrations of the Aſiatic courts? Nay, would the ſofter accompliſhments of Athens, in its beſt ſtate, have done well in a citizen of *Sparta?*

YOUR Lordſhip ſees what to conclude from theſe hints. For my own part, my Lord, I eſteem politeneſs, in the reaſonable ſenſe of the word, as the ornament, nay more, as the duty of humanity.

But,

But, under colour of making this valuable acquiſition, let no culture of the human mind, no inſtruction in letters and buſineſs, no diſcipline of the paſſions, no improvements of the head and heart, be neglected. Let the foundation of theſe eſſential virtues be laid deep in the uſual forms of our *public*, if you will, or (as you know I had rather) in the way of a more attentive and moral, becauſe *private*, education. Let the commerce of the world, in due time and under due regulation, ſucceed to this care; and your Lordſhip will find your young gentleman as fully accompliſhed in all reſpects as, in reaſon, you ſhould wiſh to ſee him. And for proof of it, if I were not reſtrained, by a common and perhaps falſe delicacy, from bringing the names of our friends and acquaintance into example in converſation, how many inſtances of this ſort could I point to, in ſuch men as your Lordſhip has known in your own country, and is moſt diſpoſed to reve-

rence; and ſome of them, poſſibly, in your own family!

LORD SHAFTESBURY,

RATHER tell me, how we may reaſonably expect to ſee ſuch models produced, according to the vulgar way of our home-breeding: that one or two ſuch may, perhaps, after ſtrict ſearch, be found among ourſelves, I ſhall not diſpute with you.

MR. LOCKE.

THE ſearch would coſt me ſmall pains. But I preſs the matter no further. It is enough that your Lordſhip ſees I have my eye on ſome, the moſt eſtimable, nay the moſt accompliſhed characters, that have been formed among ourſelves: and that even ſo envied a thing, as a fine gentleman, has been faſhioned on this ſide the water. But the rarity of the production, you think, makes againſt me, and ſhews, there is no truſting to the ſtubborn

ſtubborn ſoil and unfriendly climate of our country. You conclude, upon the whole, for the expediency of foreign travel, from the acknowledged defects of our authorized ſeats of learning; which, according to your Lordſhip's idea and repreſentation of them, are ſo degenerate and depraved, that nothing of worth and value can be reaſonably expected from that quarter.

THIS, after all, is your main reaſon for adviſing a foreign education. Your ſpite is to our Univerſities; and, to bribe, or rather provoke me into the ſame quarrel, your Lordſhip did not forget to remind me of the little obligation, which I myſelf, who was trained in their diſcipline, have had to them.

I COULD aſſent, perhaps, to ſome part of this charge. It is certain, at leaſt, that the prejudices, the bigotry, the falſe learning, and narrow principles, which

which have prevailed too much, and ſtill prevail, in thoſe famous ſeminaries, create an unfavourable opinion of them in the minds of many liberal and diſcerning perſons. Nay, I will not diſown to you, that I have at times been tempted myſelf to entertain, perhaps to expreſs, ſome reſentment againſt them. But we are always ſevere, generally unfair, judges in our own caſe. And, to ſay the truth, when the matter comes to be conſidered impartially and coolly, their faults, of whatever kind, will admit of much alleviation.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF ENGLAND, your Lordſhip knows, had their riſe in the barbarous ages. The views of their inſtitutors were, accordingly, ſuch as might be expected from men of their ſtamp, and in their circumſtances.

THESE ſeminaries were more immediately conſecrated to the ſervice of the church;

church; which is the leſs to be wondered at, as our ſtateſmen, you know, were, at that time, churchmen. Hence the plan of ſtudies, preſcribed to the youth, would be ſuch as was beſt adapted to the occaſions of that claſs of men, in whoſe inſtruction the public was more directly intereſted.

Besides, the learning of that time was rude and barbarous; and, had their views been more enlarged, the founders of our colleges had it not in their power to provide for the encouragement of any other. The ſupreme accompliſhment even of our men of buſineſs was little more than a readineſs in the forms, and a dexterity in the quirks, of the canon law: and the pride of the moſt profound ſcholars lay in applying the ſubtleties of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy to theologic and metaphyſical queſtions: whence, too much ſtreſs was evidently laid

laid on logical exerciſes and ſcholaſtic diſputations.

'Tis true, ſome few of our colleges were erected at a time, when ſomething more light and knowledge had broke in upon us; I mean, during the progreſs of the *Reformation*. But the great object, that filled all men's minds, being the diſpute with the ſee of *Rome*, the principal circumſtance, that diſtinguiſhes theſe later foundations from the other, is, that their ſtatutes provide more eſpecially for the management of that controverſy. So that, even in theſe ſocieties, the ſcholaſtic diſputative genius ſtill prevailed, to the excluſion of that more liberal plan of ſtudies, which is fitted to all times, and would have ſuited better to the general purpoſe of theſe eſtabliſhed ſeats of education.

LORD

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THIS account of the inſtitution and genius of our *Engliſh* Univerſities may be eaſily credited, even from what we now ſee of them. But, though ſome cauſes may be aſſigned for the introduction of theſe barbarous plans of education, what reaſon can be given why they ſhould be cheriſhed in our days, or that men of ſenſe ſhould ſubmit to them?

MR. LOCKE.

THE reaſon is not far to ſeek. Theſe barbarous plans of education had, we have ſeen, in former times, both their reaſon and their uſe. Bodies of men retain the character of their firſt inſtitution very long; and, all things conſidered, I am inclined to think it not amiſs that they do ſo. Univerſities and ſchools of learning, in particular, ſhould not be in haſte to exchange eſtabliſhed principles and practices, which the beſt ſenſe of

of former ages had introduced, for novel and untried pretenſions. The reaſon is plain: their inſtructions would have ſmall weight, and their diſcipline no ſtability, amid ſuch eaſy and perpetual changes. They, are, indeed, the depoſitaries of the public wiſdom and virtue; and their buſineſs is, to inculcate both on the riſing generation, upon the footing on which they are received and underſtood in the ſeveral countries where they are erected. Even if their local ſtatutes laid them under no reſtraint, an eaſineſs in departing from eſtabliſhed rules were a levity not to be commended; and would, in the end, be unfavourable to truth itſelf, when at any time it ſhould come, in its turn, to be entertained among them.

The truth is, my Lord, we are ready to conſider theſe ſeminaries, as ſchools of philoſophy, ſtrictly ſo called: whereas their proper character is that of ſchools

of learning and education. Under this laſt idea, much of that bigotry and prejudice is to be looked for, and ſhould be excuſed, which would rightly be objected to them under that other denomination.

HENCE then, I conceive, a juſt apology may be made for the preſent condition of our Univerſities. If they have not, in all reſpects, corrected the vices of their original inſtitution, let the influence and authority of ſuch inſtitution be pleaded in their excuſe: and if certain inveterate errors in ſpeculation (for I know your Lordſhip's chief quarrel to them) not immediately connected with their inſtitution, happen ſtill to maintain their credit in thoſe places, let it be conſidered that the general ſenſe of the public ſhould in all reaſon be expected to go before their profeſſion and propagation even of right principles. Believe it, my Lord, as reaſon and ſound philoſophy make a progreſs among us, theſe bodies

bodies will gradually, though reluctantly indeed, reform themſelves: and the ſervice they will then render to truth will be the greater for the oppoſition they now make to it.

I HAVE ventured to ſay, that this reformation will, in due time, come of itſelf. I think, it certainly *will*; as well in regard to the general plan of their ſtudies, as their particular principles and opinions. Yet, in reſpect of the *former* at leaſt, it might perhaps be ſomething quickened by external application. I know the attempt is delicate and difficult; but it might poſſibly ſucceed, if carried on under cover of ſome ſtill greater reformation; which ſeizes the mind with much force, turns it to a new bias, and makes it propitious to every thing that tends to the attainment of its principal object.

Such occaſions do not preſent themſelves every day. One ſuch we have ſeen; but we miſſed the ſeaſon. Whatever was fundamentally wrong in the conſtitution of the Univerſities, ſhould have been ſet right in that great æra, when the church was reformed. The undertaking had been of a piece with the reſt of that extraordinary work; and the opportunity was inviting. But whether the minds of men were then ripe for this other reformation, or whether there was indeed light enough in the nation at that time fully and properly to effect it, may not unreaſonably, I know, be made a queſtion with your Lordſhip.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

It is no queſtion at all with me, whether any ſervice of that kind was to be expected from thoſe great dealers in church-work. Perhaps another and *later* æra may be pointed out, when the ſame

office might, and ſhould, have been undertaken by our political craftſmen.

MR. LOCKE.

YOUR Lordſhip means at the *Revolution*; and, as the generous principles of liberty, on which the Revolution was founded, had received but little countenance from the Univerſities, this conſideration, you will ſay, afforded the beſt pretence for attempting their reformation. But wiſe men ſaw, that the credit, which thoſe learned bodies had drawn to themſelves, and indeed deſervedly, by their late conduct, notwithſtanding their ſpeculative ſyſtems and concluſions, was at that time too high, to ſuffer a rigorous inſpection to be made into their ſtatutes and conſtitutions: they ſaw, in that convulſion of the ſtate, it would be impoſſible to carry on a deſign of this nature, without endangering the new ſettlement, or expoſing it at leaſt to many odious and inconvenient imputations: and they ſaw, beſides,

beſides, that the ſpirit of liberty, which had prevailed ſo far as to reform the ſtate itſelf, would inſenſibly extend its influence to all ſubordinate ſocieties.

In a word, the cloſe and immediate connexion, which the Univerſities have with the church, made it natural and highly reaſonable to expect that both ſhould have ſhared the ſame fate, at the *Reformation*: but the neceſſity was not ſo urgent, or ſo viſible at leaſt, that the Univerſities ſhould be new-modeled, as the *Revolution*.

However, my Lord, what the wiſdom of *either* age omitted, or was unable to do, time, and that deſuetude which attends upon it, will gradually bring about; not to ſay, has in ſome meaſure accompliſhed. And, to take matters as they now are, the ſtudies and diſcipline of the Univerſities are not without their uſe,

and ſhould not be too violently declaimed againſt and degraded.

THE elements of literature are reaſonably well taught in thoſe places. At leaſt, the familiarity, which men have with the learned languages (the proper foundation, as I dare ſay your Lordſhip holds, of all real learning and politeneſs) is very much owing to the lectures of our colleges. And, though I am ſenſible what exceptions are to be made in other reſpects, yet, on the whole, religion, and good morals, receive an advantage from their inſtitutions, and the regularity of their diſcipline.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

YES; their religion is intoleranee; and their morals, ſervility. For, as to any freedom of manly thought, or the dignity of virtue—

MR.

MR. LOCKE.

You are ready to look for them any where elſe than in our *Engliſh* Univerſities.

Come on then, my Lord: have the goodneſs to point out to us thoſe happier ſeminaries, where theſe and all other virtues are more ſucceſsfully propagated.

But which way will your Lordſhip direct us to take, in this ſearch? Shall we turn to the north of this country for thoſe advantages, which we deſpair of finding in the ſouth? Or, becauſe the groſſneſs of our iſland air may infect all parts alike, ſhall we ſhape our courſe to the continent? And does your Lordſhip encourage us to look for ſome *Athens* amidſt the Proteſtant ſtates of *Germany*, in the *Netherlands*, or the *Swiſs* Cantons?

THESE, I take it, are the only ſcenes which your Lordſhip can have in view; for, as high as their reputation may be in this reſpect, you would hardly adviſe the breeding of our *Engliſh* youth in the colleges of the Jeſuits.

ONE word then, if you pleaſe, on thoſe Proteſtant Univerſities on the continent.

YOUR Lordſhip and I have had ſome experience of the ſtate of literature and education in thoſe places. Eminent and excellent men they ſurely have amongſt them. But ſo, your Lordſhip will confeſs, have the Univerſities of *England*. If we do not readily find thoſe who, at this day, may be oppoſed to a LIMBORCH or a LE CLERC; yet it is not long ſince we had to boaſt of a CHILLINGWORTH, a CUDWORTH, and a WHICHCOT; all, men of manly thought, generous minds, and incomparable learning.

BUT

But the queſtion is not, you know, of particular men, which ſuch great bodies rarely want; but, of the general frame and conſtitution of learned ſocieties, fit for the purpoſes of polite and liberal education.

Shall we ſay then, that the ſcattered tribes of ſtudents in a *Dutch* or *Swiſs* town are likely to be better inſtructed, or better governed, than the young ſcholars in our colleges? or, that the good order, diſcipline, and ſobriety of theſe places, is to be compared with the anarchy and licence of thoſe other?

Your Lordſhip, I know, takes a pleaſure to conceive of certain foreign academies, as of that antient one, where the ſtudents viſited, without conſtraint, the ſchools of philoſophers, and even bore a part in their free conferences and diſputations: you even

love to paint the noble youth to yourſelf, as of old, ſpatiating, at their leiſure, in ſhady walks and porticos, and imbibing the principles of ſcience as they drop upon them in the dews of Attic eloquence and politeneſs.

All this, my Lord, is very well: yet, ſetting aſide a certain colouring of expreſſion which takes and amuſes the imagination, I ſee but little to admire in this picture; certainly not enough to make one regret the want of the original, and ſeriouſly to prefer this eaſy manner of breeding, to that ſtricter form which prevails in our own Univerſities: where the day begins and ends with religious offices: where the diligence of the youth is quickened and relieved, in turn, by ſtated hours of ſtudy and recreation: where temperance and ſobriety are even *convivial* virtues; and the two extremes of a feſtive jollity and unſocial gloom are happily tempered by

the

the decencies of a *common table*; where, in a word, the diſcipline of Spartan HALLS and the civility of Athenian BANQUETS are, or may be, united.

SURELY, my Lord, theſe wholeſome regulations, with many others that might be mentioned, could we but ſtrip them of the opprobrious name of collegiate and monaſtic, are of another uſe and value in education, than the lax unreſtrained indulgence of foreign ſeminaries.

BUT, were there even no difference in this reſpect, as there is ſurely a great deal, are we to reckon for nothing the diſparity of civil and religious conſtitutions?

YOUR Lordſhip, I dare ſay, will not ſuſpect me of a bigoted adherence to any mere *mode* of civil or eccleſiaſtical regimen. But is it all one, whether a young boy, who is deſtined to be a ſubject to the crown, and a member of the

church of *England*, be inured to the equality of republican governments, and of calviniſtical churches? It may be well for men of confirmed age and ability to look into both; but would you train up your ſon in a way that is likely to indiſpoſe him, right or wrong, to the inſtitutions of his own country?

Besides, are there fewer prejudices, think ye, in the men of other churches and governments, than our own? or, are their profeſſors and inſtitutors of youth more free from popular errors and blind attachments, though of a different ſort, than the tutors and maſters of education in our country?

Nay, conſider with yourſelf, my Lord; is there not as much tyranny in the adminiſtration of ſome they call *free ſtates*; and as much reſtraint and perſecution in the principles of ſome they call *free churches*,

churches, as can fairly be charged on the monarchy or church of *England?*

So that what you could expect to gain by preferring theſe foreign ſchools of learning to your own, I cannot eaſily imagine. All that is worth acquiring in either, you have, at leaſt, an equal chance to meet with at home: and what ſhould be avoided, may, nay muſt, with more probability, be encountered abroad.

But your Lordſhip, perhaps, would confine your young traveller to no *one* ſeat of learning; and have it only in view to convey him haſtily, under the wing of a tutor, through many a famous academy, without ſettling him in any. This, I muſt confeſs, is the way to keep clear of prejudices; but, whether any ſolid inſtruction, or juſt ſcience either of men or things, is to be gathered from

ſo

ſo curſory an education, your Lordſhip will do well to conſider.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

You have done me the favour to imagine many projects and deſigns for me, which I was too dull to entertain in my own thoughts. But, if the education of a young man of rank and quality cannot be carried on without the aſſiſtance of academical inſtructors, I would much ſooner truſt him to the care of ſuch as the more free and liberal genius of certain foreign Univerſities has formed, than ſubmit him to the tutorage of thoſe prieſtly guides, to whom our narrow and ſlaviſh inſtitutions have conſigned the province of education, in our own country.

MR. LOCKE.

Your Lordſhip now indeed ſpeaks out very plainly. Your objection, then, is to CLERGY-TUTORS; and you think it abſurd and even pernicious to commit our

our noble and liberal youth to the care of churchmen. You would rather ſee them in lay-hands; in the hands of philoſophers, properly ſo called; who, indifferent to every thing but pure truth and reaſon, are in no danger of imbibing wrong principles themſelves, and are therefore under no temptation of inſtilling any ſuch into the minds of their followers.

THE thought is happy, my Lord; and, if a number of theſe philoſophers could any where be found, I might be induced to fall into the project of employing ſuch only in the province of education. But, the condition, in which truth and reaſon are now left, and ſeem likely to continue, in this world of ours, affords little room for ſuch flattering expectations. An unprejudiced inſtructor, I doubt, is a rarity not to be met with, I do not ſay in our Univerſities, but even out of them: and, prejudices for prejudices,

dices, ſome perſons may be apt to think thoſe of a churchman as tolerable as of any other.

But, my Lord, having no particular bias on my own mind in favour of that order, and having ſomething perhaps to *reſent* from ſeveral individuals of it, it will not miſbecome me to hazard a word or two, in its vindication.

You will permit me then to ſay, that I ſee no peculiar unfitneſs in the clergy for the office, they are called to, in this country, of ſuperintending the buſineſs of education. The leiſure they enjoy; the various learning and general ſtudies, which that leiſure enables them, and their profeſſion obliges them, to purſue; and, laſtly, the ſtrictneſs of life and manners, or, if you will, the very decorum, which their character impoſes upon them; theſe circumſtances ſeem generally to have marked them out, as the

propereſt

properest persons to form the manners and cultivate the minds of youth, in all countries. In our *own*, that propriety strikes one the more, since their prejudices, of whatever kind, are but in common to them with other speculative and studious men; and since even their interest, rightly understood, and as seen by the best and wisest of themselves, (whatever may have been warmly and passionately said by some persons) is in no degree separate from that of the great community, to which they belong.

YES, your Lordship will say, their hopes and views of preferment —

YET, in this respect, they are but on a level with other men of most other professions; nay, with all men out of them, that aspire to rise, by their merits or the favour of their superiors, to any distinction in the world. And though we commonly say, that the clergy should be

be *only* animated by purer motives, yet you cannot expect, nay would not ſeriouſly wiſh, that they ſhould be altogether inſenſible to ſuch as theſe.

It is true, in countries where the clergy have a dependance on ſome foreign power, or where they have uſurped an independent power to themſelves, or where, laſtly, the civil conſtitution is ſo ill defined that the privileges of the ſubject lie at the mercy of the prince; in each of theſe caſes, the ambition of the clergy may be, and in fact has been, productive of many public miſchiefs. But our Proteſtant clergy, who are in no foreign ſubjection, claim no independency, and fill their place in a ſyſtem all whoſe parts are, now at leaſt, exactly regulated by known laws, cannot, by their private ambition, diſturb the general intereſt, and have no peculiar inducements to attempt it. And though particulars may ſometimes, by their follies and indiſcretions,

tions, diſhonour themſelves, yet the effect cannot be conſiderable, and certainly affords no good reaſon for taking the province of education, for which on ſo many accounts they are well qualified, out of their hands.

YOUR Lordſhip's candour and equity will then, upon the whole, permit an obvious diſtinction to be made between the MEN and their PROFESSION. Too many of the ſacred order, I confeſs, and am ſorry for it, ſeem now to have their minds perverted by thoſe principles, and heated by thoſe paſſions, which do little credit to their function, or themſelves; and are equally inconſiſtent with the genius of that religion they profeſs to teach, as they are unfriendly to that legal conſtitution both of church and ſtate, which they have bound themſelves to ſupport. But their *profeſſion* is little concerned in all this; and in a ſucceſſion or two of theſe men (if the preſent ſet be, many

of them, incorrigible) you may ſurely reckon upon all thoſe prejudices and paſſions being worked off, which now adminiſter the occaſion of ſo much diſlike to it.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

WELL, but *clergy-manners*; will they, too, be worked off, with their other infirmities?

MR. LOCKE.

PERHAPS, they may; if not, forgive them this one defect; at leaſt, if it be their only one. But you do not mean, that the manners of the clergy, *as ſuch*, are more offenſive than thoſe of other people. They are ſuited to their profeſſion and way of life, from which they naturally reſult; and if the clergy have not that gloſs upon them, which ſets off the manners of finer men, they rarely diſguſt you with the affectation of it. But, after all, if perſons of your Lordſhip's quality and breeding would condeſcend

deſcend to countenance them a little, they would, doubtleſs, brighten under your eye; and might come in time to reflect ſomewhat of that high poliſh, which gliſtens ſo much in the addreſs and converſation of their betters.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

WHAT tranſmutations they may undergo hereafter, and by what means, I am not curious to inquire. On this head, their candid apologiſt is at liberty to be as much in jeſt, or in earneſt, as he thinks fit. But from what appears at preſent, I muſt take leave, in my turn, to think leſs reverendly, than He would have me, of our ſacred inſtructors; and though I value ſome particular perſons of the order, as much as any man, yet, till I ſee a greater change in the principles, temper, and manners of that body, than, I fear, is likely to come to paſs in our days, I can have no very favourable ſentiments of thoſe rude, illiberal, and

monkiſh ſeminaries, where ſuch worthies preſide.

MR. LOCKE.

Let us have patience, my Lord. I have not ſcrupled to confeſs to you, that much is, at preſent, amiſs in thoſe ſeminaries, and wants to be ſet right. But ſo, God knows, there is every where elſe. As our factions and parties both in religion and government die away, the Univerſities will become more reaſonable; and, as the general manners refine, they too will, of courſe, take a better air and poliſh. In a word, they may not lead the public taſte or judgment, but, as I ſaid, they will be ſure to follow it.

And the happy period is not, perhaps, far off. For, now I have taken upon me to divine ſo much of the future condition of our Univerſities, let me paint to you more particularly what I conceive of their growing improvements; and, in a kind of prophetic ſtrain, ſuch as old age,

age, they ſay, pretends to, and may be indulged in, delineate to you a faint proſpect of thoſe brighter days, which I ſee riſing upon us.

"THE TIME will come, my Lord, and "I even aſſure myſelf it is at no great "diſtance, when the Univerſities of *Eng-* "*land* ſhall be as reſpectable, for the "learning they teach, the principles "they inſtil, and the morals they incul- "cate, as they are now contemptible, in "your Lordſhip's eye at leaſt, on theſe "ſeveral accounts.

"I SEE the day, when a ſcholaſtic "theology ſhall give place to a rational "divinity, conducted on the principles of "ſound criticiſm and well-interpreted "ſcripture: when their ſums and "ſyſtems ſhall fly before enlightened "reaſon and ſober ſpeculation: when a "fanciful, precarious, and hypothetic "philoſophy, ſhall deſert their ſchools;

" and be replaced by real ſcience, ſup-
" porting itſelf on the ſure grounds of
" experiment and cautious obſervation:
" when their phyſics ſhall be fact; their
" metaphyſics, common ſenſe; and their
" ethics, human nature.

" Do I flatter myſelf with fond imagi-
" nations, my Lord? Or is not the time
" at hand, when St. PAUL ſhall lecture
" our divines, and not CALVIN; our
" BACONS and BOYLES, expel ARISTO-
" TLE; Mr. NEWTON, fill the chair of
" DES CARTES; and even your friend
" (if your Lordſhip can forgive the ar-
" rogance of placing himſelf by the
" ſide of ſuch men) take the lead of
" BURGERSDICIUS?

" STILL, my Lord, my prophetic eye
" penetrates further. Amidſt theſe im-
" provements in real ſcience, the lan-
" guages ſhall be learnt for uſe, and not
" pedantry: Your Lordſhip's admired

" antients

" antients ſhall be reſpected, and not " idolized: the forms of claſſic compo- " ſition be emulated: and a ſet of men " ariſe, even beneath the ſhade of our " academic cloyſters, that ſhall poliſh the " taſte, as well as advance the know- " ledge, of their country.

" YET, I am but half way in the " portraiture of my viſion. The ap- " pointed lecturers of our youth, whom " your Lordſhip loves to qualify with the " name of *bearded boys*, ſhall adopt the " manners of men; ſhall inſtruct with " knowledge, and perſuade with reaſon; " ſhall be the firſt to explode ſlaviſh " doctrines and narrow principles; ſhall " draw reſpect to themſelves, rather from " the authority of their characters, than " of their places; and, which is the firſt " and laſt part of a good education, ſet " the noble and ingenuous youth entruſt- " ed to their care, the brighteſt examples " of diligence, ſobriety, and virtue.

" PERHAPS in thoſe days, a freer com-
" merce ſhall be opened with the world:
" the ſtudents of our colleges be ambi-
" tious of appearing in good company:
" and a general civility prevail, where
" your Lordſhip ſees nothing, at preſent,
" but barbariſm and rudeneſs.

" NAY, who knows but, in this different
" ſtate of things, the arts themſelves may
" gain admiſſion into theſe ſeminaries;
" and even the exerciſes be taught there,
" which our noble youth are now ſent to
" acquire on the continent?

" SUCH, I perſuade myſelf, if the pre-
" ſage of old experience may paſs for
" any thing, is the happier ſcene which
" a little time ſhall diſcloſe to your view,
" in our *Engliſh* Univerſities. What its
" duration may be, I cannot diſcover.
" Much will depend on the general man-
" ners, and the public encouragement.

" In

"In the mean time, if any cloud reſt "upon it, it will not, I aſſure myſelf, "ariſe immediately from within, but "from the little, or, which is worſe, the "ill-directed favour, which the Great "ſhall vouchſafe to ſhew to places, ſo "qualified, and ſo deſerving their pro-"tection.

"YET, after all I have ſeen, or per-"haps dreamt, as your Lordſhip may "rather object to me, of the future "flouriſhing eſtate of our Univerſities, "and of their extreme fitneſs, in all re-"ſpects, to anſwer the ends of their in-"ſtitution, I cannot be miſtaken in one "prediction, "that the mode of early "Travel will ſtill continue; perhaps its "fury will increaſe; and our youth of "quality be ſtill ſent abroad for their "education, when every reaſon ſhall ceaſe "which your Lordſhip has now alledged "in favour of that practice."

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

THIS laſt prediction may, perhaps, be true; I mean, if thoſe others ſhould ever be accompliſhed. But as I have no great faith in modern prophecy, and ſee at preſent no ſymptoms of this coming age of gold, which your fancy has now preſented to us, you muſt excuſe me if theſe *prophetic ſtrains*, as you termed them, have no great weight with me before their completion. Should that ever happen, I ſhall reſpect your foreſight, at leaſt; and rejoice extremely at an event, which, I ſhall then freely own, will leave my countrymen no excuſe for their folly.

THIS, Sir, was the ſubſtance of what paſſed between us on the ſubject in queſtion. Our other friends interpoſed, indeed, at times; but rarely, and in few words; and I have rather choſen to mix their occaſional obſervations with our own, than perplex and lengthen this recital

cital by a more punctilious exactneſs. Beſides, I could not think it civil to introduce my friends upon the ſcene, only to ſhew them, as it were, for mutes; their politeneſs to us, who were principals in the debate, being ſuch, as to reſtrain them from bearing any conſiderable part in it. Yet this way of relation would, no doubt, have given ſomething more of life to the ſketch, I here ſend you; as their preſence, you may believe, certainly did to the original converſation.

It is enough to ſay, that nothing more material, than what I have now related to you, paſſed on the occaſion. For by this time the day was pretty well ſpent, and it was neceſſary for us to withdraw to our ſeveral engagements.

For myſelf, I leave you to gueſs the effect which our philoſopher's grave remonſtrance left upon me. One thing you will think remarkable; that the part of

of arraigning the preſent ſtate of things ſhould fall to my ſhare; while he, at an age that is naturally querulous and diſſatisfied, was employed in defending it. Whether this be a proof of his wiſdom, or good ſpirits, I pretend not to ſay. But it gave me a pleaſure to hear the old man indulging himſelf in the proſpect of better days, of which, as young as we are, and as warmly as we wiſh for them, you and I had always deſpaired.

LET-

LETTERS

ON

CHIVALRY

AND

ROMANCE:

Serving to illuſtrate ſome

Paſſages in the THIRD DIALOGUE.

Guarda, che mal fato,
O giovenil vaghezza non ti meni
Al magazino de le ciancie. ah fuggi,
Fuggi quell incantato alloggiamento.
Quivi habitan le maghe, che incantando
Fan traveder, e traudir ciaſcuno.

TASSO.

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LET-

LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE.

LETTER I.

THE ages, we call barbarous, preſent us with many a ſubject of curious ſpeculation. What, for inſtance, is more remarkable than the *Gothic* CHIVALRY? or than the ſpirit of ROMANCE, which took its riſe from that ſingular inſtitution?

NOTHING in human nature, my dear friend, is without its reaſons. The modes and faſhions of different times may ap-

pear, at firſt ſight, fantaſtic and unaccountable. But they, who look nearly into them, diſcover ſome latent cauſe of their production.

"Nature once known, no prodigies remain," as ſings our philoſophical bard; but to come at this knowledge, is the difficulty. Sometimes a cloſe attention to the workings of the human mind is ſufficient to lead us to it: ſometimes more than that, the diligent obſervation of what paſſes without us, is neceſſary.

THIS laſt I take to be the caſe here. The prodigies, we are now contemplating, had their origin in the barbarous ages. Why then, ſays the faſtidious modern, look any further for the reaſon? Why not reſolve them at once into the uſual caprice and abſurdity of barbarians?

THIS, you ſee, is a ſhort and commodious philoſophy. Yet barbarians have

their

their *own*, ſuch as it is, if they are not enlightened by our reaſon. Shall we then condemn them unheard, or will it not be fair to let them have the telling of their own ſtory?

WOULD we know, from what cauſes the inſtitution of *Chivalry* was derived? The time of its birth, the ſituation of the barbarians, amongſt whom it aroſe, muſt be conſidered: their wants, deſigns, and policies, muſt be explored; we muſt inquire when, and where, and how, it came to paſs that the weſtern world became familiarized to this *prodigy*, which we now ſtart at.

ANOTHER thing is full as remarkable, and concerns us more nearly. The ſpirit of Chivalry, was a fire which ſoon ſpent itſelf: but that of *Romance*, which was kindled at it, burnt long, and continued its light and heat even to the poliſher ages.

THE greateſt geniuſes of our own and foreign countries, ſuch as ARIOSTO and TASSO in *Italy*, and SPENSER and MILTON in *England*, were ſeduced by theſe barbarities of their forefathers; were even charmed by the *Gothic* Romances. Was this caprice and abſurdity in them? Or, may there not be ſomething in the *Gothic* Romance peculiarly ſuited to the views of a genius, and to the ends of poetry? And may not the philoſophic moderns have gone too far, in their perpetual ridicule and contempt of it?

To form a judgment in the caſe, the riſe, progreſs, and genius of *Gothic* Chivalry muſt be explained.

THE circumſtances in the *Gothic* fictions and manners, which are proper to the ends of poetry (if any ſuch there be) muſt be pointed out.

REASONS,

REASONS, for the decline and rejection of the *Gothic* taſte in later times, muſt be given.

YOU have in theſe particulars both the SUBJECT and the PLAN of the following Letters.

LETTER II.

I LOOK upon Chivalry, as on ſome mighty river, which the fablings of the poets have made immortal. It may have ſprung up amidſt rude rocks, and blind deſerts. But the noiſe and rapidity of its courſe, the extent of country it adorns, and the towns and palaces it ennobles, may lead a traveller out of his way, and invite him to take a view of thoſe dark caverns,

unde ſuperne
Plurimus Eridani per ſylvam volvitur amnis.

I ENTER, without more words, on the ſubject I began to open to you in my laſt Letter.

THE old inhabitants of theſe North-Weſt parts of *Europe* were extremely given to the love and exerciſe of arms. The feats of CHARLEMAGNE and our ARTHUR, in particular, were ſo famous as in later times, when books of Chivalry were compoſed, to afford a principal ſubject to the writers of them [*a*].

BUT CHIVALRY, properly ſo called, and under the idea "of a diſtinct military "order, conferred in the way of inveſti-"ture, and accompanied with the ſolem-

[*a*] See a diſcourſe at the end of *Love's Labour Loſt* in WARB. Ed. of SHAKESPEAR; in which the *origin*, *ſubject*, and *character* of theſe books of Chivalry (or *Romances*, properly ſo called) are explained with an exactneſs of learning, and penetration, peculiar to that writer—

In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria—

"nity

"nity of an oath and other ceremonies, "as described in the old historians and "romancers," was of later date, and seems to have sprung immediately out of the FEUDAL CONSTITUTION.

THE FIRST and most sensible effect of this constitution, which brought about so mighty a change in the policies of *Europe*, was the erection of a prodigious number of petty tyrannies. For, though the great barons were closely tied to the service of their Prince by the conditions of their tenure, yet the power which was given them by it over their own numerous vassals was so great, that, in effect, they all set up for themselves; affected an independency; and were, in truth, a sort of absolute Sovereigns, at least with regard to one another. Hence, their mutual aims and interests often interfering, the feudal state was, in a good degree, a state of war: the feudal chiefs were in frequent enmity with each other:

the ſeveral combinations of feudal tenants were ſo many ſeparate armies under their head or chief: and their caſtles were ſo many fortreſſes, as well as palaces, of theſe puny princes.

In this ſtate of things one ſees, that all imaginable encouragement was to be given to the uſe of arms, under every different form of attack and defence, according as the ſafety of theſe different communities, or the ambition of their leaders, might require. And this condition of the times, I ſuppoſe, gave riſe to that military inſtitution, which we know by the name of CHIVALRY.

FURTHER, there being little or no ſecurity to be had amidſt ſo many reſtleſs ſpirits and the claſhing views of a neighbouring numerous and independent nobility, the military diſcipline of their followers, even in the intervals of peace, was not to be relaxed, and their ardour

ardour ſuffered to grow cool, by a total diſuſe of martial exerciſes. And hence the proper origin of JUSTS and TURNAMENTS; thoſe images of war, which were kept up in the caſtles of the barons, and, by an uſeful policy, converted into the amuſement of the knights, when their arms were employed on no ſerious occaſion.

I CALL this the *proper origin* of Juſts and Turnaments; for the date of them is carried no higher, as far as I can find, even in *France*, (where unqueſtionably they made their firſt appearance) than the year 1066; which was not till after the introduction of the feudal government into that country. Soon after, indeed, we find them in *England* and in *Germany*; but not till the feudal policy had ſpread itſelf in thoſe parts, and had prepared the way for them.

You

You ſee, then, my notion is, that Chivalry was no abſurd and freakiſh inſtitution, but the natural and even ſober effect of the feudal policy; whoſe turbulent genius breathed nothing but war, and was fierce and military even in its amuſements.

I LEAVE you to revolve this idea in your own mind. You will find, I believe, a reaſonable foundation for it in the hiſtory of the feudal times, and in the ſpirit of the feudal government.

LETTER III.

IF the conjecture, I advanced, of the riſe of Chivalry, from the circumſtances of the feudal government, be thought reaſonable, it will not be difficult to account for the ſeveral CHARACTERISTICS of this ſingular profeſſion.

I. "THE

I. "THE paſſion for arms; the ſpirit "of enterprize; the honour of knight-"hood; the rewards of valour; the "ſplendour of equipages;" in ſhort, every thing that raiſes our ideas of the proweſs, gallantry, and magnificence of theſe ſons of MARS, is naturally and eaſily explained on this ſuppoſition.

AMBITION, intereſt, glory, all concurred, under ſuch circumſtances, to produce theſe effects. The feudal principles could terminate in nothing elſe. And when, by the neceſſary operation of that policy, this turn was given to the thoughts and paſſions of men, uſe and faſhion would do the reſt; and carry them to all the exceſſes of military fanaticiſm, which are painted ſo ſtrongly, but ſcarcely exaggerated, in the old Romances.

II. "THEIR

II. "THEIR romantic ideas of juſtice; "their paſſion for adventures; their "eagerneſs to run to the ſuccour of the "diſtreſſed; and the pride they took in "redreſſing wrongs, and removing grie-"vances;" all theſe diſtinguiſhing characters of genuine Chivalry are explained on the ſame principle. For, the feudal ſtate being a ſtate of war, or rather of almoſt perpetual violence, rapine, and plunder, it was unavoidable that, in their conſtant ſkirmiſhes, ſtratagems, and ſurprizes, numbers of the tenants or followers of one Baron ſhould be ſeized upon and carried away by the followers of another: and the intereſt, each had to protect his own, would of courſe introduce the point of honour, in attempting by all means to retaliate on the enemy, and eſpecially to reſcue the captive ſufferers out of the hands of their oppreſſors.

IT

It would be meritorious, in the higheſt degree, to fly to their aſſiſtance, when they knew where they were to be come at; or to ſeek them out with diligence, when they did not. This laſt *feudal* ſervice ſoon introduced, what may be truly called *romantic*, the *going in queſt of adventures*; which at firſt, no doubt, was confined to thoſe of their own party, but afterwards, by the habit of acting on this principle, would be extended much further. So that, in proceſs of time, we find the Knights errant, as they were now properly ſtyled, wandering the world over in ſearch of occaſions on which to exerciſe their generous and diſintereſted valour, indifferently to friends and enemies in diſtreſs;

Ecco quei, che le charte empion di ſogni,
LANCILOTTO, TRISTANO, e gli altri erranti.

III. "The courteſy, affability, and gal-
"lantry, for which theſe adventurers
"were

" were ſo famous, are but the natural ef-
" fects and conſequences of their ſitu-
" ation."

For the caſtles of the Barons were, as I ſaid, the courts of theſe little ſovereigns, as well as their fortreſſes; and the reſort of their vaſſals thither, in honour of their chiefs, and for their own proper ſecurity, would make that civility and politeneſs, which is ſeen in courts and inſenſibly prevails there, a predominant part in the character of theſe aſſemblies.

This is the poet's own account of

——— court and royal citadel,
The great ſchool-maiſtreſſe of all Courteſy.
B. III. C. vi. S. I.

And again, more largely in B. VI. C. i. S. I.

Of Court it ſeems men Courteſie doe call,
For that it there moſt uſeth to abound;
And well beſeemeth that in Princes hall
That Virtue ſhould be plentifully found,
Which

Which of all goodly manners is the ground
And roote of civil converſation:
Right ſo in *faery court* it did reſound,
Where courteous knights and ladies moſt did won
Of all on earth, and made a matchleſs paragon.

For *Faery Court* means the *reign of Chivalry*; which, it ſeems, had undergone a fatal revolution before the age of Milton, who tells us that *Courteſy*

--- is ſooner found in lonely ſheds
With ſmoaky rafters, than in tap'ſtry halls
And courts of princes, where it firſt was nam'd,
And yet is moſt pretended. Mask.

Further, the free commerce of the ladies, in thoſe knots and circles of the great, would operate ſo far on the ſturdieſt knights, as to give birth to the attentions of gallantry. But this gallantry would take a refined turn, not only from the neceſſity there was of maintaining the ſtrict forms of decorum, amidſt a promiſcuous converſation under the eye of

the Prince and in his own family; but alſo from the inflamed ſenſe they muſt needs have of the frequent outrages committed, by their neighbouring clans of adverſaries, on the honour of the ſex, when by chance of war they had fallen into their hands. Violations of chaſtity being the moſt atrocious crimes they had to charge on their enemies, they would pride themſelves in the merit of being its protectors: and as this virtue was, of all others, the faireſt and ſtrongeſt claim of the ſex itſelf to ſuch protection, it is no wonder that the notions of it were, in time, carried to ſo platonic an elevation.

THUS, again, the great maſter of Chivalry himſelf, on this ſubject,

It hath been thro' all ages ever ſeen,
That, with the praiſe of arms and chivalry,
The prize of beauty ſtill hath joined been;
And that for reaſon's ſpecial privity:

For

For either doth on other much rely;
For He mee ſeems moſt fit the fair to ſerve,
That can her beſt defend from villany;
And She moſt fit his ſervice doth deſerve,
That faireſt is, and from her faith will never ſwerve.

SPENSER, B. IV. C. V.

NOT but the foundation of this refined gallantry was laid in the antient manners of the *German* nations. CÆSAR tells us how far they carried their practice of chaſtity, which he ſeems willing to account for on political principles. However that be, their conſideration of the ſex was prodigious, as we ſee in the hiſtory of their irruptions into the Empire; where, among all their ravages and devaſtations of other ſorts, we find they generally abſtained from offering any violence to the honour of the women.

IV. IT only remains to account for that "character of Religion," which was ſo deeply imprinted on the minds of all

knights, and was eſſential to their inſtitution. We are even told, that *the love of God and of the ladies* went hand in hand, in the duties and ritual of Chivalry.

Two reaſons may be aſſigned for this ſingularity:

FIRST, the ſuperſtition of the times, in which Chivalry aroſe; which was ſo great, that no inſtitution of a public nature could have found credit in the world, that was not conſecrated by the churchmen, and cloſely interwoven with religion.

SECONDLY, the condition of the Chriſtian ſtates; which had been harraſſed by long wars, and had but juſt recovered a breathing-time from the brutal ravages of the *Saracen* armies. The remembrance of what they had lately ſuffered from theſe grand enemies of the faith, made it natural, and even neceſſary, to engage a new military order on the ſide of religion.

AND

AND how warmly this principle, *a zeal for the faith*, was acted upon by the profeſſors of Chivalry, and how deeply it entered into their ideas of the military character, we ſee from the term ſo conſtantly uſed by the old Romancers, of RECREANT [*i. e.* Apoſtate] Knight; by which they meant to expreſs, with the utmoſt force, their diſdain of a daſtard or vanquiſhed knight. For, many of this order falling into the hands of the *Saracens*, ſuch of them as had not imbibed the full ſpirit of their profeſſion, were induced to renounce their faith, in order to regain their liberty. Theſe men, as ſinning againſt the great fundamental laws of Chivalry, they branded with this name; a name of complicated reproach, which implied a want of the two moſt eſſential qualities of a Knight, COURAGE and FAITH.

HENCE too, the reaſon appears why the *Spaniards*, of all the Europeans, were furtheſt gone in every characteriſtic madneſs of true chivalry. To all the other conſiderations, here mentioned, their fanaticiſm in every way was eſpecially inſtigated and kept alive by the memory and neighbourhood of their old infidel invaders.

AND thus we ſeem to have a fair account of that PROWESS, GENEROSITY, GALLANTRY, and RELIGION, which were the peculiar and vaunted characteriſtics of the purer ages of Chivalry.

SUCH was the ſtate of things in the weſtern world, when the cruſades to the Holy land were ſet on foot. Whence we ſee how well prepared the minds of men were for engaging in that enterprize. Every object, that had entered into the views of the inſtitutors of Chivalry, and

had been followed by its profeſſors, was now at hand, to inflame the military and religious ardor of the knights, to the utmoſt. And here, in fact, we find the ſtrongeſt and boldeſt features of their genuine character: *daring* to madneſs, in enterprizes of hazard: burning with zeal for the delivery of the *oppreſſed*; and, which was deemed the height of *religious* merit, for the reſcue of the holy city out of the hands of infidels: and, laſtly, exalting their honour of *chaſtity* ſo high as to profeſs celibacy; as they conſtantly did, in the ſeveral orders of knighthood created on that extravagant occaſion.

LETTER IV.

WHAT think you, my good friend, of this learned deduction? Do not you begin to favour my conjecture, as whimſical as it might ſeem, of the *riſe and genius* of Knight-errantry?

And yet (ſo ſlippery is the ground, on which we ſyſtem-makers ſtand) from what I obſerved of the ſpirit, with which the Cruſades were carried on, a hint may be taken, which threatens to overturn my whole ſyſtem.

It is, "That, whereas I derive the "Cruſades from the ſpirit of Chivalry, "the circumſtances attending the pro-"greſs of the Cruſades, and even as "pointed out by myſelf, ſeem to favour "the oppoſite opinion of Chivalry's "taking its riſe from that enterprize."

For thus the argument is drawn out by a learned perſon, [a] to whom I com-

[a] The late right honourable Charles Yorke; who to all the learning of his own profeſſion had joined an exact taſte, and very extenſive knowledge, of polite literature. What follows is an extract from a long letter which this excellent perſon did me the honour to write to me on the ſubject of theſe letters, when he had read them in the firſt edition.

municated

municated the ſubſtance of my laſt Letter.

"ON the crumbling of the weſtern empire into ſmall ſtates, with regular ſubordinations of vaſſals and their chiefs, who looked up to a common ſovereign, it was ſoon found that thoſe chiefs had it in their power to make themſelves very formidable to their maſters; and, juſt in that criſis of European manners and empire, the *Saracens* having expelled Chriſtianity from the Eaſt, the Weſtern Princes ſeized the opportunity, and with great craft turned the warlike genius of their feudataries, which would otherwiſe have preyed upon themſelves, into the ſpirit of Cruſades againſt the common enemy.

BUT when, now, the ardour of the Cruſades was abated in ſome ſort, though not extinguiſhed, the *Gothic* princes and their families had ſettled into eſtabliſhed monarchies. Then it was, that the reſtleſs

ſpirit of their vaſſals, having little employment abroad, and being reſtrained in a good degree from exerting itſelf with ſucceſs in domeſtic quarrels, broke out in all the extravagances of KNIGHT-ERRANTRY.

MILITARY fame, acquired in the Holy land, had entitled the adventurers to the *inſignia* of arms, the ſource of Heraldry; and inſpired them with the love of war and the paſſion of enterprize. Their late expeditions had given them a turn for roving in queſt of adventures; and their religious zeal had infuſed high notions of piety, juſtice, and chaſtity.

THE ſcene of action being now more confined, they turned themſelves, from *the world's debate*, to private and perſonal animoſities. Chivalry was employed in reſcuing humble and faithful vaſſals, from the oppreſſion of petty lords; their women, from ſavage luſt; and the hoary heads of hermits (a ſpecies of eaſtern

eaſtern monks, much reverenced in the Holy land), from rapine and outrage.

In the mean time the courts of the feudal ſovereigns grew magnificent and polite; and, as the military conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſted, military merit was to be upheld; but, wanting its old objects, it naturally ſoftened into the fictitious images and courtly exerciſes of war, in *juſts and tournaments:* where the honour of the ladies ſupplied the place of zeal for the holy Sepulchre; and thus the courteſy of elegant love, but of a wild and fanatic ſpecies, as being engrafted on ſpiritual enthuſiaſm, came to mix itſelf with the other characters of the Knights-errant."

In this way, you ſee, all the characteriſtics of Chivalry, which I had derived from the eſſential properties of the feudal government, are made to reſult from the ſpirit of Cruſades, which with me, was only an accidental effect of it: and this deduction may

may be thought to agree beſt with the repreſentation of the old Romancers.

THIS hypotheſis, ſo plauſible in itſelf, is very ingeniouſly ſupported. Yet I have ſomething to object to it; or rather, which flatters me more, I think I can turn it to the advantage of my own ſyſtem.

FOR what if I allow (as indeed I needs muſt) that *Chivalry*, ſuch as we have it repreſented in books of Romance, ſo much poſterior to the date of that military inſtitution, took its colour and character from the impreſſions made on the minds of men by the ſpirit of cruſading into the Holy land? Still it may be true, that Chivalry itſelf had, properly, another and an earlier origin. And I muſt think it certainly *had*, if for no other, yet, for this reaſon: that, unleſs the ſeeds of that ſpirit, which appeared in the Cruſades, had been plentifully ſown and indeed grown up into ſome maturity in the feudal

feudal times preceding that event, I ſee not how it could have been poſſible for the weſtern princes to give that politic diverſion to their turbulent vaſſals, which the new hypotheſis ſuppoſes.

In ſhort, there are TWO DISTINCT PERIODS to be carefully obſerved, in a deduction of the riſe and progreſs of Chivalry.

THE FIRST is that in which the empire was overturned, and the feudal governments were every where introduced on its ruins, by the northern nations. In this æra, that new policy ſettled itſelf in the weſt, and operated ſo powerfully as to lay the firſt foundations, and to furniſh the remote cauſes, of what we know by the name of Chivalry.

THE OTHER period is, when theſe cauſes had taken a fuller effect, and ſhewed themſelves in that ſignal enterprize of the

the Cruſades; which not only concurred with the ſpirit of Chivalry, already pullulating in the minds of men, but brought a prodigious encreaſe, and gave a ſingular force and vigour, to all its operations. In this æra, Chivalry took deep root, and at the ſame time ſhot up to its full height and ſize. So that now it was in the ſtate of VIRGIL's Tree —

—Quæ quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.
Ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra, neque imbres
Convellunt: immota manet, multoſque per annos
Multa virûm volvens durando ſæcula vincit.

FROM this laſt period, the Romancers, whether in proſe or verſe, derive all their ideas of Chivalry. It was *natural* for them to do ſo; for they were beſt acquainted with that period: and, beſides, it ſuited their *deſign* beſt; for the manners, they were to paint, were then full formed, and ſo diſtinctly marked as fitted them for the uſe of deſcription.

BUT

But that the former period, notwithſtanding, really gave birth to this inſtitution, may be gathered, not only from the reaſon of the thing, but from the ſurer information of authentic hiſtory. For there are traces of Chivalry, in its moſt peculiar and characteriſtic forms, to be found in the age preceding the Cruſades; and even juſts and tournaments, the *image* of ſerious Knight-errantry, were certainly of earlier date than that event, as I had before occaſion to obſerve to you.

Though I think, then, my notion *of the riſe of Chivalry* ſtands unimpaired, or rather is ſomewhat illuſtrated and confirmed, by what the excellent perſon has oppoſed to it, yet I could not hold it fair to conceal ſo ſpecious and well-ſupported an objection from you. You are too generous to take advantage of the arms I put into your hands; and are, beſides,

think, may deſerve to be admitted. But you will, perhaps, admit it the more readily, if you reflect, "That there is a remarkable correſpondency between the "manners of the old heroic times, as "painted by their great romancer, HOMER, and thoſe which are repreſented "to us in books of modern knight-errantry." A fact, of which no good account, I believe, can be given but by the aſſiſtance of another, not leſs certain, "That the political ſtate of *Greece*, in "the earlier periods of its ſtory, was ſimilar in many reſpects to that of *Europe*, "as broken by the feudal ſyſtem into an "infinite number of petty independent "governments."

IT is not my deſign to encroach on the province of the learned perſon [*b*], to whom I owe this hint, and who hath undertaken, at his leiſure, to enlarge upon it. But ſome few circumſtances of agree-

[*b*] See the *Memoir*, juſt quoted.

ment

ment between the *Heroic* and *Gothic* manners, ſuch as are moſt obvious and occur to my memory, while I am writing, may be worth putting down, by way of ſpecimen only of what may be expected from a profeſſed inquiry into this curious ſubject.

AND, FIRST, "the military enthuſiaſm of the Barons is but of a piece "with the fanaticiſm of the Heroes." Hence the ſame particularity of deſcription, in the account of battles, wounds, deaths, in the *Greek* poet, as in the *Gothic* romancers: hence that perpetual ſucceſſion of combats and deeds of arms, even to ſatiety, in the *Iliad:* and hence that minute curioſity, in the diſplay of the dreſſes, arms, accoutrements of the combatants, which we find ſo ſtrange, in that poem. The minds of all men being occupied and in a manner poſſeſſed with warlike images and ideas, were much gratified by the poet's dwelling on the very ſlighteſt

circumſtances of theſe things; which now, for want of their prejudices, appear cold and unaffecting to modern readers.

But the correſpondency holds in more particular conſiderations. For,

2. "We hear much of Knights-errant "encountering *Giants*, and quelling *Sa-* "*vages*, in books of Chivalry."

These Giants were oppreſſive feudal Lords; and every Lord was to be met with, like the Giant, in his ſtrong hold, or caſtle. Their dependants of a lower form, who imitated the violence of their ſuperiors, and had not their caſtles, but their lurking-places, were the Savages of Romance. The greater Lord was called a Giant, for his power; the leſs, a Savage, for his brutality.

All this is ſhadowed out in the *Gothic* tales, and ſometimes expreſſed in plain

words. The objects of the Knight's vengeance go indeed by the various names of Giants, Paynims, Saracens, and Savages. But of what family they all are, is clearly ſeen from the poet's deſcription:

What Miſter wight, quoth he, and how far hence
Is he, that doth to traveller's ſuch harms?
He is, ſaid he, a man of great defence,
Expert in battle, and in deeds of arms;
And more embolden'd by the wicked charms
With which his daughter doth him ſtill ſupport;
Having *great Lordſhips got and goodly farms*
Thro' ſtrong oppreſſion of his power extort;
By which he ſtill them holds and keeps with ſtrong effort.

And daily he his wrong encreaſeth more:
For never wight he lets to paſs that way
Over his bridge, albee he rich or poor,
But he him makes his paſſage-penny pay.
Elſe he doth hold him back or beat away.
Thereto he hath a *Groom of evil guiſe*,
Whoſe ſcalp is bare, that bondage doth bewray,

Which polls and pills the poor in piteous wiſe,
But he himſelf upon the rich doth tyrannize.
SPENSER, B. V. C. ii.

HERE we have the great oppreſſive Baron very graphically ſet forth: and the *Groom of evil guiſe* is as plainly the Baron's vaſſal. The Romancers, we ſee, took no great liberty with theſe reſpectable perſonages, when they called the one a Giant, and the other a Savage.

"ANOTHER terror of the *Gothic* ages "was, *Monſters*, *Dragons*, and *Serpents*." Theſe ſtories were received in thoſe days for ſeveral reaſons: 1. From the vulgar belief of enchantments: 2. From their being reported, on the faith of eaſtern tradition, by the adventurers into the Holy land: 3. In ſtill later times, from the ſtrange things told and believed, on the diſcovery of the new world.

THIS

THIS laſt conſideration we find employed by SPENSER to give an air of probability to his *Faery Tales*, in the preface to his ſecond book.

Now in all theſe reſpects *Greek* antiquity very much reſembles the *Gothic*. For what are HOMER's *Læſtrigons* and *Cyclops*, but bands of lawleſs ſavages, with, each of them, a Giant of enormous ſize at their head? And what are the *Grecian* BACCHUS and HERCULES, but Knights-errant, the exact counter-parts of Sir LAUNCELOT and AMADIS DE GAULE?

FOR this interpretation we have the authority of our great poet:

Such firſt was BACCHUS, that with furious might
All th' Eaſt, before untam'd, did overcome,
And wrong repreſſed and eſtabliſh'd right,
Which lawleſs men had formerly fordonne.

Next HERCULES his like enſample ſhew'd,
Who all the Weſt with equal conqueſt wonne,
And monſtrous tyrants with his club ſubdu'd,
The club of juſtice dread, with kingly pow'r endu'd.
B. V. C. I.

EVEN PLUTARCH'S life of THESEUS reads, throughout, like a modern Romance: and Sir ARTHEGAL himſelf is hardly his fellow, for righting wrongs and redreſſing grievances. So that EURIPIDES might well make him ſay of himſelf, *that he had choſen the profeſſion and calling of a Knight-errant:* for this is the ſenſe, and almoſt the literal conſtruction, of the following verſes:

Ἔθος τόδ' εἰς Ἕλληνας ἐξελεξάμην
Ἀεὶ ΚΟΛΑΣΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΚΩΝ καθεςάναι.
Ἱκέτιδες, ver. 340.

Accordingly, THESEUS is a favourite Hero (witneſs the *Knight's Tale* in CHAUCER) even with the Romance-writers.

NAY,

NAY, could the very caſtle of a *Gothic* giant be better deſcribed than in the words of HOMER,

High walls and battlements the courts incloſe,
And the ſtrong gates defy a hoſt of foes.
Od. B. XVII. ver. 318.

AND do not you remember that the *Grecian* Worthies were, in their day, as famous for encountering Dragons and quelling Monſters of all ſorts, as for ſuppreſſing Giants?

——per hos cecidere juſtâ
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendæ
Flamma Chimæræ.

3. "THE oppreſſions, which it was the glory of the Knight to avenge, were frequently carried on, as we are told, *by the charms and enchantments of women.*"

THESE *charms*, we may ſuppoſe, are often metaphorical; as expreſſing only

the blandiſhments of the ſex, by which they either ſeconded the deſigns of their Lords, or were enabled to carry on deſigns for themſelves. Sometimes they are taken to be real; the ignorance of thoſe ages acquieſcing in ſuch conceits.

AND are not theſe ſtories matched by thoſe of *Calypſo* and *Circe*, the enchantreſſes of the *Greek* poet?

STILL there are conformities more directly to our purpoſe.

4. "ROBBERY and piracy were honourable in both; ſo far were they from reflecting any diſcredit on the antient or modern *redreſſers of wrongs*."

WHAT account can be given of this odd circumſtance, but that, in the feudal times and in the early days of *Greece*, when government was weak, and unable to redreſs the frequent injuries of petty ſovereigns,

ſovereigns, it would be glorious for private adventurers to undertake this work; and, if they could accompliſh it in no other way, to pay them in kind by downright plunder and rapine?

THIS, in effect, is the account given us, of the ſame diſpoſition of the old *Germans*, by CÆSAR: "Latrocinia, ſays he, nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt." And the reaſon appears from what he had juſt told us — "in pace, nullus eſt communis magiſtratus; ſed principes regionum atque pagorum inter ſuos jus dicunt, controverſiasque minuunt." *De Bello Gall.* l. vi. § 21.

5. THEIR manners, in another reſpect, were the ſame. "Baſtardy was in credit with both." They were extremely watchful over the chaſtity of their own women; but ſuch as they could ſeize upon in the enemy's quarter, were lawful prize. Or, if at any time they tranſgreſſed

greſſed in this ſort at home, the heroic ages were complaiſant enough to cover the fault by an ingenious fiction. The offspring was reputed divine.

NAY, ſo far did they carry their indulgence to this commerce, that their greateſt Heroes were the fruit of Goddeſſes approached by mortals; juſt as we hear of the doughtieſt Knights being born of Fairies.

6. Is it not ſtrange, that, together with the greateſt fierceneſs and ſavageneſs of character, "the utmoſt generoſity, hoſpitality, and courteſy ſhould be imputed to the heroic ages?" ACHILLES was at once the moſt relentleſs, vindictive, implacable, and the friendlieſt of men.

WE have the very ſame repreſentation in the *Gothic* Romances, where it is almoſt true what BUTLER ſays humorouſly of theſe benign heroes, that

They

They did in fight but cut work out
T' employ their courteſies about.

How are theſe contradictions, in the characters of the antient and modern men of arms, to be reconciled, but by obſerving that, as in thoſe lawleſs times dangers and diſtreſſes of all ſorts abounded, there would be the ſame demand for compaſſion, gentleneſs, and generous attachments to the unfortunate, thoſe eſpecially of their own clan, as of reſentment, rage, and animoſity againſt their enemies?

7. AGAIN: conſider the martial *Games*, which antient *Greece* delighted to celebrate on great and ſolemn occaſions: and ſee if they had not the ſame origin, and the ſame purpoſe, as the *Tournaments* of the *Gothic* warriors.

8. LASTLY, "the paſſion for adventures, ſo natural in their ſituation, would be as naturally attended with the love of praiſe and glory."

HENCE

HENCE the ſame encouragement, in the old *Greek* and *Gothic* times, to panegyriſts and poets; the BARDS being as welcome to the tables of the feudal Lords, as the ΑΟΙΔΟΙ of old, to thoſe of the *Grecian* Heroes.

AND, as the ſame cauſes ever produce the ſame effects, we find that even ſo late as ELIZABETH's reign, the ſavage *Iriſh* (who were much in the ſtate of the antient *Greeks*, living under the anarchy, rather than government, of their numberleſs puny chiefs) had their Rhymers in principal eſtimation. It was for the reaſon juſt given, for the honour of their panegyrics on their fierce adventures and ſucceſſes. And thus it was in *Greece:*

For chief to Poets ſuch reſpect belongs,
By rival nations courted for their Songs;
Theſe, ſtates invite, and mighty kings admire
Wide as the Sun diſplays his vital fire.

Od. B. XVII.

LET-

LETTER V.

THE purpoſe of the caſual hints, ſuggeſted in my laſt letter, was only to ſhew that the reſemblance between the Heroic and *Gothic* ages is great: ſo great, that the obſervation of it did not eſcape the old Romancers themſelves, *with whom*, as an ingenious critic obſerves, *the ſiege of* THEBES *and* TROJAN *war were favourite ſtories; the characters and incidents of which they were mixing perpetually with their Romances* [*c*]. And to this perſuaſion and practice of the Romance-writers CERVANTES plainly alludes, when he makes Don QUIXOTE ſay — *If the ſtories of Chivalry be lies, ſo muſt it alſo be, that there ever was a* HECTOR, *or an* ACHILLES, *or a* TROJAN WAR [*d*] — a fly ſtroke

[*c*] Mr. WARTON's Obſervations on SPENSER, vol. i. p. 175.

[*d*] Don QUIXOTE, b. iv. c. 22.

of

of ſatire, by which this mortal foe of Chivalry would, I ſuppoſe, inſinuate that the *Grecian* Romances were juſt as extravagant, and as little credible, as the *Gothic*. Or, whatever his purpoſe might be, the reſemblance between them, you ſee, is confeſſed, and hath now been ſhewn in ſo many inſtances that there will hardly be any doubt of it. And though you ſay true, that ignorance and barbarity itſelf might account for ſome circumſtances of this reſemblance; yet the parallel would hardly have held ſo long, and run ſo cloſely, if the *civil* condition of both had not been much the ſame.

So that when we ſee a ſort of Chivalry, ſpringing up among the *Greeks*, who were confeſſedly in a ſtate reſembling that of the feudal barons, and attended by the like ſymptoms and effects, is it not fair to conclude that the Chivalry of the *Gothic* times was owing to that common

mon correſponding *ſtate*, and received its character from it?

AND this circumſtance, by the way, accounts for the conſtant mixture, which the modern critic eſteems ſo monſtrous, of Pagan fable with the faery tales of Romance. The paſſion for antient learning, juſt then revived, might ſeduce the claſſic poets, ſuch as SPENSER and TASSO for inſtance, into this practice; but the ſimilar turn and genius of antient manners, and of the fictions founded upon them, would make it appear eaſy and natural in all.

I AM aware, as you object to me, that, in the affair of *religion* and *gallantry*, the reſemblance between the Hero and Knight is not ſo ſtriking.

BUT the religious character of the Knight was an accident of the times, and no proper effect of his *civil* condition.

AND

And that his devotion for the ſex ſhould ſo far ſurpaſs that of the Hero, is a freſh confirmation of my ſyſtem.

For, though much, no doubt, might be owing to the different humour and genius of the eaſt and weſt, antecedent to any cuſtoms and forms of government, and independent of them; yet the conſideration had of the females in the feudal conſtitution will, of itſelf, account for this difference. It made them capable of ſucceeding to fiefs as well as the men. And does not one ſee, on the inſtant, what reſpect and dependence this privilege would draw upon them?

It was of mighty conſequence who ſhould obtain the grace of a rich heireſs. And though, in the ſtrict feudal times, ſhe was ſuppoſed to be in the power and diſpoſal of her ſuperior Lord, yet this rigid ſtate of things did not laſt long; and,

and, while it did laſt, could not abate much of the homage that would be paid to the fair feudatary.

THUS, when intereſt had begun the habit, the language of love and flattery would ſoon do the reſt. And to what that language tended, you may ſee by the conſtant ſtrain of the Romances themſelves. Some diſtreſſed damſel was the ſpring and mover of every Knight's adventure. She was to be reſcued by his arms, or won by the fame and admiration of his proweſs.

THE plain meaning of all which was this: that, as in thoſe turbulent feudal times a protector was neceſſary to the weakneſs of the ſex, ſo the courteous and valorous knight was to approve himſelf fully qualified for that office. And we find, he had other motives to ſet him on work than the mere charms and

graces, though ever ſo bewitching, of the perſon addreſſed.

HENCE then, as I ſuppoſe, the cuſtom was introduced: and, when introduced, you will hardly wonder it ſhould operate much longer and further than the reaſon may ſeem to require, on which it was founded.

IF you ſtill inſiſt that I carry this matter too far, and that, in fact, the introduction of the female ſucceſſion into fiefs was too late to juſtify me in accounting for the riſe of feudal gallantry from that circumſtance; you will only teach me to frame my anſwer in a more accurate manner.

FIRST then, I ſhall confeſs that the way to avoid all confuſion on this ſubject would be, to diſtinguiſh carefully between the ſtate of things in the *early* feudal times, and that in the *later*, when the

the genius of the feudal law was much changed and corrupted; and that, whoever would go to the bottom of this affair, should keep a conſtant eye on this reaſonable diſtinction.

But then, *ſecondly*, I may obſerve, that this diſtinction is the leſs neceſſary to be attended to in the preſent caſe, becauſe the law of female ſucceſſion, whenever it was introduced, had certainly taken place long before the Romancers wrote, from whom we derive all our ideas of the feudal gallantry. So that, if you take their word for the gallantry of thoſe times, you may very conſiſtently, if you pleaſe, accept my account of it. For it is but ſuppoſing that the feudal gallantry, ſuch as they paint it, was the offspring of that privilege, ſuch as they ſaw the ladies then poſſeſs, of feudal ſucceſſion. And the connexion between theſe two things is ſo cloſe and ſo natural, that we

cannot be much miſtaken in deducing the one from the other.

In concluſion of this topic, I muſt juſt obſerve to you, that the two poems of Homer expreſs in the livelieſt manner, and were intended to expoſe, the capital miſchiefs and inconveniences ariſing from the *political ſtate* of old *Greece:* the *Iliad*, the diſſenſions that naturally ſpring up amongſt a number of independent chiefs; and the *Odyſſey*, the inſolence of their greater ſubjects, more eſpecially when unreſtrained by the preſence of their ſovereign.

These were the ſubjects of his pen. And can any thing more exactly reſemble the condition of the *feudal times*, when, on occaſion of any great enterprize, as that of the Cruſades, the deſigns of the confederate Chriſtian ſtates were perpetually fruſtrated, or interrupted at leaſt, by the diſſenſions of their leaders; and their affairs at home as per-

petually diſtreſſed and diſordered by domeſtic licence, and the rebellious uſurpations of their greater vaſſals?

It is true, as to the charge of *domeſtic licence*, ſo exactly does the parallel run between old *Greece* and old *England*, I find one exception to it, in each country: and that *one*, a Romance-critic would ſhew himſelf very uncourteous, if he did not take a pleaſure to celebrate. Guy, the renowned earl of *Warwick*, old ſtories ſay, returned from the holy wars to his lady in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim or beggar, as Ulysses did to Penelope. What the ſuſpicions were of the Knight and the Hero, the contrivance itſelf but too plainly declares. But their fears were groundleſs, in both caſes. Only the Knight ſeems to have had the advantage of the Prince of Ithaca: for, inſtead of rioting ſuitors to drive out of his caſtle, he had only to contemplate his good lady in the peaceful and pious

office of *diſtributing daily alms to* XIII *poor men.*

No concluſion, however, is to be drawn from a ſingle inſtance; and, in general, it is ſaid, the adventurers into the Holy land could no more depend on the fidelity of their ſpouſes, than of their vaſſals. So that, in all reſpects, *Jeruſalem* was to the *European*, what *Troy* had been to the *Grecian* heroes. And, though the *Odyſſey* found no rival among the *Gothic* poems, you will think it natural enough, from theſe correſponding circumſtances, that TASSO's immortal work ſhould be planned upon the model of the *Iliad*.

LETTER VI.

LET it be no ſurprize to you that, in the cloſe of my laſt Letter, I preſumed to bring the *Gieruſalemme liberata* into competition with the *Iliad*.

So

So far as the heroic and *Gothic* manners are the ſame, the pictures of each, if well taken, muſt be equally entertaining. But I go further, and maintain that the circumſtances, in which they differ, are clearly to the advantage of the *Gothic* deſigners.

You ſee, my purpoſe is to lead you from this forgotten Chivalry to a more amuſing ſubject; I mean, the *Poetry* we ſtill read, tho' it was founded upon it.

Much has been ſaid, and with great truth, of the felicity of Homer's age, for poetical manners. But, as Homer was a citizen of the world, when he had ſeen in *Greece*, on the one hand, the manners he has deſcribed, could he, on the other hand, have ſeen in the weſt the manners of the feudal ages, I make no doubt but he would certainly have preferred the latter. And the grounds

of this preference would, I ſuppoſe, have been, "*the improved gallantry of the* "*Gothic knights*; and the *ſuperior ſo-* "*lemnity of their ſuperſtitions.*"

If any great poet, like HOMER, had flouriſhed in theſe times, and given the feudal manners from the *life* (for, after all, SPENSER and TASSO came too late, and it was impoſſible for them to paint truly and perfectly what was no longer ſeen or believed); this preference, I perſuade myſelf, had been very ſenſible. But their fortune was not ſo happy:

——omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate ſacro.

As it is, we may take a gueſs of what the ſubject was capable of affording to real genius, from the rude ſketches we have of it in the old Romancers. And it is but looking into any of them to be convinced, that the GALLANTRY, which inſpirited

inſpirited the feudal times, was of a nature to furniſh the poet with finer ſcenes and ſubjects of deſcription in every view, than the ſimple and uncontrolled barbarity of the *Grecian*.

The principal entertainment ariſing from the delineation of theſe conſiſts in the exerciſe of the boiſterous paſſions, which are provoked and kept alive, from one end of the *Iliad* to the other, by every imaginable ſcene of rage, revenge, and ſlaughter. In the other, together with theſe, the gentler and more humane affections are awakened in us by the moſt intereſting diſplays of love and friendſhip; of love, elevated to its nobleſt heights; and of friendſhip, operating on the pureſt motives. The mere variety of theſe paintings is a relief to the reader, as well as writer. But their beauty, novelty, and pathos give them a vaſt advantage, on the compariſon.

So

So that, on the whole, though the ſpirit, paſſions, rapine, and violence of the two ſets of manners were equal, yet there was an elegance, a variety, a dignity in the feudal, which the other wanted.

As to RELIGIOUS MACHINERY, perhaps the popular ſyſtem of each was equally remote from reaſon; yet the latter had ſomething in it more amuſing, as well as more awakening to the imagination.

The current popular tales of Elves and Fairies were even fitter to take the credulous mind, and charm it into a willing admiration of the *ſpecious miracles* which wayward fancy delights in, than thoſe of the old traditionary rabble of Pagan divinities. And then, for the more ſolemn fancies of witchcraft and incantation,

tion, the *Gothic* are above meaſure ſtriking and terrible.

You will tell me, perhaps, that theſe fancies, as terrible as they were, are but of a piece with thoſe of Pagan ſuperſtition; and that nothing can exceed what the claſſic writers have related or feigned of its magic and necromantic horrors.

To ſpare you the trouble of muſtering up againſt me all that your extenſive knowledge of antiquity would furniſh, let me confeſs to you that many of the antient poets have occaſionally adorned this theme. If, among twenty others, I ſelect only the names of OVID, SENECA, and LUCAN, it is, becauſe theſe writers, by the character of their genius, were beſt qualified for the taſk, and have, beſides, exerted their whole ſtrength upon it. LUCAN, eſpecially, has drawn out all the pomp of his eloquence in celebrating

celebrating thoſe THESSALIAN CHARMS,

ficti quas nulla licentia monſtri
Tranſierat, quarum, quicquid non creditur, ars eſt.

YET STILL I pretend to ſhew you that all his prodigies fall ſhort of the *Gothic*: and you will come the leſs reluctantly into my ſentiments, if you reflect, "THAT the thick and troubled ſtream of ſuperſtition, which flowed ſo plentifully in the claſſic ages, has been conſtantly deepening and darkening by the confluence of thoſe ſupplies, which ignorance and corrupted religion have poured in upon it."

FIRST, you will call to mind that all the gloomy viſions of dæmons and ſpirits, which ſprung out of the Alexandrian or Platonic philoſophy, were, in the later ages of Paganiſm, engrafted on the old ſtock of claſſic ſuperſtition. Theſe portentous dreams, *new hatched to the wa-*

ful

ful time, as SHAKESPEAR ſpeaks, enabled APULEIUS to outdo LUCAN himſelf, in ſome of his magic ſcenes and exhibitions.

NEXT, you will obſerve that a freſh and exhauſtleſs ſwarm of the direſt ſuperſtitions took their birth in the frozen regions of the north, and were naturally enough conceived in the imaginations of a people involved in tenfold darkneſs; I mean, in the thickeſt ſhades of ignorance, as well as in the gloom of their comfortleſs woods and foreſts. I call theſe the *direſt ſuperſtitions*; for though the ſouth and eaſt may have produced ſome that ſhew more wild and fantaſtic, yet thoſe of the north have ever been of a more ſombrous and horrid aſpect, agreeably to the ſingular circumſtances and ſituation of that ſavage and benighted people.

THESE

But, if you require a compariſon, I can tell you where it is to be made, with much eaſe, and to great advantage: I mean, in SHAKESPEAR'S *Macbeth*, where you will find (as his beſt critic obſerves) "the *Daniſh* or *Northern*, intermixed "with the *Greek* and *Roman* enchant-"ments; and all theſe worked up toge-"ther with a ſufficient quantity of our "own country ſuperſtitions. So that "SHAKESPEAR'S *Witch-Scenes* (as the "ſame writer adds) are like the *charm* "they prepare in one of them: where "the ingredients are gathered from "every thing ſhocking in the *natural* "world; as here, from every thing ab-"ſurd in the *moral*."

Or, if you ſuſpect this inſtance, as deriving ſomewhat of its force and plauſibility from the *magic* hand of this critic, you may turn to another in a great poet of that time; who has been at the pains

to

to make the compariſon himſelf, and whoſe word, as he gives it in honeſt proſe, may ſurely be taken.

In a work of B. Jonson, which he calls The Masque of Queens, there are ſome Witch-ſcenes; written with ſingular care, and in emulation, as it may ſeem, of Shakespear's; but certainly with the view (for ſo he tells us himſelf) *of reconciling the practice of antiquity to the neoteric, and making it familiar with our popular witchcraft.*

This Maſque is accompanied with notes of the learned author, who had rifled all the ſtores of antient and modern *Dæmonomagy*, to furniſh out his entertainment; and who takes care to inform us, under each head, whence he had fetched the ingredients, out of which it is compounded.

In this elaborate work of Jonson you have, then, an eaſy opportunity of comparing the antient, with the modern magic. And though, as he was an idolater of the antients, you will expect him to draw freely from that ſource, yet from the large uſe he makes, too, of his other more recent authorities, you will perceive that ſome of the darkeſt ſhades of his picture are owing to hints and circumſtances which he had catched, and could only catch, from the *Gothic* enchantments. Even ſuch of theſe circumſtances, as, taken by themſelves, ſeem of leſs moment, ſhould not be overlooked, ſince (as the poet well obſerves of them) *though they be but minutes in ceremony, yet, they make the act more dark and full of horror.*

Thus much, then, may ſerve for a caſt of Shakespear's and Jonson's magic: abundantly ſufficient, I muſt

think, to convince you of the ſuperiority of the *Gothic* charms and incantations, to the claſſic.

THOUGH, after all, the concluſion is not to be drawn ſo much from particular paſſages, as from the *general impreſſion* left on our minds in reading the antient and modern poets. And this is ſo much in favour of the *latter*, that Mr. ADDISON ſcruples not to ſay, "The antients "have not much of this poetry among "them; for indeed (continues he) al-"moſt the whole ſubſtance of it owes its "original to the darkneſs and ſuperſti-"tion of later ages.—Our forefathers "looked upon nature with more re-"verence and horror, before the world "was enlightened by learning and philo-"ſophy; and loved to aſtoniſh themſelves "with the apprehenſions of witchcraft, "prodigies, charms, and inchantments. "There was not a village in *England*, "that had not a ghoſt in it; the church-

"yards were all haunted; every large "common had a circle of fairies belong-"ing to it; and there was ſcarce a "ſhepherd to be met with, who had not "ſeen a ſpirit."

We are upon enchanted ground, my friend; and you are to think yourſelf well uſed, that I detain you no longer in this fearful circle. The glympſe, you have had of it, will help your imagination to conceive the reſt. And without more words you will readily apprehend that the fancies of our modern bards are not only more gallant, but, on a change of the ſcene, more ſublime, more terrible, more alarming, than thoſe of the claſſic fablers. In a word, you will find that the *manners* they paint, and the *ſuperſtitions* they adopt, are the more poetical for being *Gothic*.

LET-

LETTER VII.

BUT nothing ſhews the difference of the two ſyſtems under conſideration more plainly, than the effect they really had on the Two greateſt of our Poets; at leaſt the Two which an *Engliſh* reader is moſt fond to compare with HOMER; I mean, SPENSER and MILTON.

IT is not to be doubted but that each of theſe bards had kindled his poetic fire from claſſic fables. So that, of courſe, their prejudices would lie that way. Yet they both appear, when moſt inflamed, to have been more particularly rapt with the *Gothic* fables of Chivalry.

SPENSER, though he had been long nouriſhed with the ſpirit and ſubſtance of HOMER and VIRGIL, choſe the times of Chivalry for his theme, and Fairy Land for the ſcene of his fictions. He could

have planned, no doubt, an heroic deſign on the exact claſſic model: or, he might have trimmed between the *Gothic* and claſſic, as his contemporary TASSO did. But the charms of *fairy* prevailed. And if any think, he was ſeduced by ARIOSTO into this choice, they ſhould conſider that it could be only for the ſake of his ſubject; for the genius and character of theſe poets was widely different.

UNDER this idea then of a *Gothic*, not claſſical poem, the *Faery Queen* is to be read and criticized. And on theſe principles, it would not be difficult to unfold its merit in another way than has been hitherto attempted.

MILTON, it is true, preferred the claſſic model to the *Gothic*. But it was after long heſitation; and his favourite ſubject was ARTHUR *and his Knights of the round table*. On this he had fixed for the greater part of his life. What led

led him to change his mind was, partly, as I ſuppoſe, his growing fondneſs for religious ſubjects; partly, his ambition to take a different rout from SPENSER; but chiefly perhaps, the diſcredit into which the ſtories of Chivalry had now fallen by the immortal ſatire of CERVANTES. Yet we ſee through all his poetry, where his enthuſiaſm flames out moſt, a certain predilection for the legends of Chivalry before the fables of *Greece*.

THIS circumſtance, you know, has given offence to the auſterer and more mechanical critics. They are ready to cenſure his judgment, as juvenile and unformed, when they ſee him ſo delighted, on all occaſions, with the *Gothic* romances. But do theſe cenſors imagine that MILTON did not perceive the defects of theſe works, as well as they? No: it was not the *compoſition* of books of Chivalry, but the *manners* deſcribed in

them, that took his fancy; as appears from his *Allegro*—

Towred cities pleaſe us then
And the buſy hum of men,
Where throngs of knights and barons bold
In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,
With ſtore of ladies, whoſe bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize
Of wit, or arms, while both contend
To win her grace, whom all commend.

And when in the *Penſeroſo* he draws, by a fine contrivance, the ſame kind of image to ſooth melancholy which he had before given to excite mirth, he indeed extolls an *author*, or two, of theſe romances, as he had before, in general, extolled the *ſubject* of them: but they are authors worthy of his praiſe; not the writers of *Amadis*, and *Sir Launcelot of the Lake*; but Faery Spenser, and Chaucer himſelf, who has left an unfiniſhed ſtory on the *Gothic* or feudal model.

Or,

Or, call up him that left half-told
The ſtory of CAMBUSCAN bold,
Of CAMBALL and of ALGARSIFE,
And who had CANACE to wife
That own'd the virtuous ring and glaſs,
And of the wondrous horſe of braſs,
On which the Tartar king did ride;
And if aught elſe great bards beſide
In ſage and ſolemn tunes have ſung
Of turneys and of trophies hung
Of foreſts and inchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.

THE conduct then of theſe two poets may incline us to think with more reſpect, than is commonly done, of the *Gothic manners*; I mean, as adapted to the uſes of the greater poetry.

I SHALL add nothing to what I before obſerved of SHAKESPEAR, becauſe the ſublimity (the divinity, let it be, if nothing elſe will ſerve) of his genius kept no certain rout, but rambled at hazard into all the regions of human life

life and manners. So that we can hardly ſay what he preferred, or what he rejected, on full deliberation. Yet one thing is clear, that even he is greater when he uſes *Gothic* manners and machinery, than when he employs claſſical: which brings us again to the ſame point, that the former have, by their nature and genius, the advantage of the latter in producing the *ſublime*.

LETTER VIII.

I SPOKE "of criticizing SPENSER's "poem, under the idea, not of a claſ-"ſical, but *Gothic* compoſition."

IT is certain, much light might be thrown on that ſingular work, were an able critic to conſider it in this view. For inſtance, he might go ſome way towards explaining, perhaps juſtifying, the general plan and *conduct* of the *Faery Queen*, which, to claſſical readers, has appeared indefenſible.

I HAVE

I HAVE taken the fancy, with your leave, to try my hand on this curious ſubject.

WHEN an architect examines a *Gothic* ſtructure by *Grecian* rules, he finds nothing but deformity. But the *Gothic* architecture has its own rules, by which when it comes to be examined, it is ſeen to have its merit, as well as the *Grecian*. The queſtion is not, which of the two is conducted in the ſimpleſt or trueſt taſte: but, whether there be not ſenſe and deſign in both, when ſcrutinized by the laws on which each is projected.

THE ſame obſervation holds of the two ſorts of poetry. Judge of the *Faery Queen* by the claſſic models, and you are ſhocked with its diſorder: conſider it with an eye to its *Gothic* original, and you find it regular. The unity and ſimplicity of the former are more complete:

plete: but the latter has that ſort of unity and ſimplicity, which reſults from its nature.

THE *Faery Queen* then, as a *Gothic* poem, derives its METHOD, as well as the other characters of its compoſition, from the eſtabliſhed modes and ideas of Chivalry.

IT was uſual, in the days of knight-errantry, at the holding of any great feaſt, for knights to appear before the prince, who preſided at it, and claim the privilege of being ſent on any adventure, to which the ſolemnity might give occaſion. For it was ſuppoſed that, when ſuch a *throng of knights and barons bold*, as MILTON ſpeaks of, were got together, the diſtreſſed would flock in from all quarters, as to a place where they knew they might find and claim redreſs for all their grievances.

THIS

THIS was the real practice, in the days of pure and ancient Chivalry. And an image of this practice was afterwards kept up in the caſtles of the great, on any extraordinary feſtival or ſolemnity: of which, if you want an inſtance, I refer you to the deſcription of a feaſt made at *Liſle* in 1453, in the court of PHILIP the Good, duke of *Burgundy*, for a cruſade againſt the *Turks:* as you may find it given at large in the memoirs of MATTHIEU DE CONCI, OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, and MONSTRELET.

THAT feaſt was held for *twelve* days: and each day was diſtinguiſhed by the claim and allowance of ſome adventure.

Now, laying down this practice as a foundation for the poet's deſign, you will ſee how properly the *Faery Queen* is conducted.

—"I

——"I DEVISE, says the poet himself in his letter to Sir W. RALEIGH, "that the *Faery Queen* kept her annual "feaſte xii days: upon which xii ſeveral days, the occaſions of the xii ſeveral adventures hapened; which being "undertaken by xii ſeveral knights, are "in theſe xii books ſeverally handled."

HERE you have the poet delivering his own method, and the reaſon of it. It aroſe out of the order of his ſubject. And would you deſire a better reaſon for his choice?

YES; you will ſay, a poet's method is not that of his ſubject. I grant you, as to the order of *time*, in which the recital is made; for here, as SPENSER obſerves (and his own practice agrees to the rule) lies the main difference between *the poet hiſtorical, and the hiſtoriographer:* the reaſon of which is drawn from the nature

nature of *Epic* compoſition itſelf, and holds equally, let the ſubject be what it will, and whatever the ſyſtem of manners be, on which it is conducted. Gothic or Claſſic makes no difference in this reſpect.

But the caſe is not the ſame with regard to the general plan of a work, or what may be called the order of *diſtribution*, which is and muſt be governed by the ſubject-matter itſelf. It was as requiſite for the *Faery Queen* to conſiſt of the adventures of twelve Knights, as for the *Odyſſey* to be confined to the adventures of one Hero: juſtice had otherwiſe not been done to his ſubject.

So that if you will ſay any thing againſt the poet's method, you muſt ſay that he ſhould not have choſen this ſubject. But this objection ariſes from your claſſic ideas of Unity, which have no place here: and are in every view foreign to the purpoſe,

if

if the poet has found means to give his work, though conſiſting of many parts, the advantage of Unity. For in ſome reaſonable ſenſe or other, it is agreed, every work of art muſt be *one*, the very idea of a work requiring it.

If you aſk then, what is this *Unity* of Spenser's Poem? I ſay, It conſiſts in the relation of its ſeveral adventures to one common *original*, the appointment of the *Faery Queen*; and to one common *end*, the completion of the *Faery Queen's* injunctions. The knights iſſued forth on their adventures on the breaking up of this annual feaſt: and the next annual feaſt, we are to ſuppoſe, is to bring them together again from the atchievement of their ſeveral charges.

This, it is true, is not the claſſic Unity, which conſiſts in the repreſentation of one entire action: but it is an Unity of another ſort, an unity reſulting from

from the reſpect which a number of related actions have to one common purpoſe. In other words, it is an unity of *deſign*, and not of action.

THIS *Gothic* method of deſign in poetry may be, in ſome ſort, illuſtrated by what is called the *Gothic* method of deſign in gardening. A wood or grove cut out into many ſeparate avenues or glades was among the moſt favourite of the works of art, which our fathers attempted in this ſpecies of cultivation. Theſe walks were diſtinct from each other, had, each, their ſeveral deſtination, and terminated on their own proper objects. Yet the whole was brought together and conſidered under one view, by the relation which theſe various openings had, not to each other, but to their common and concurrent center. You and I are, perhaps, agreed that this ſort of gardening is not of ſo true a taſte as that which *Kent and Nature* have brought

us acquainted with; where the ſupreme art of the deſigner conſiſts in diſpoſing his ground and objects into an *entire landſkip*; and grouping them, if I may uſe the term, in ſo eaſy a manner, that the careleſs obſerver, though he be taken with the ſymmetry of the whole, diſcovers no art in the combination:

In lieto aſpetto il bel giardin s'aperſe,
Acque ſtagnanti, mobili criſtalli,
Fior vari, e varie piante, herbe diverſe,
Apriche collinette, ombroſe valli,
Selve, e ſpeluńche in UNA VISTA offerſe:
E quel, che'l bello, e'l caro accreſcé à l'opre,
L' arte, che tutto fà, nulla ſi ſcopre.

TASSO, C. XVI. S. IX.

THIS, I ſay, may be the trueſt taſte in gardening, becauſe the ſimpleſt: yet there is a manifeſt regard to unity in the other method; which has had its admirers, as it may have again, and is certainly not without its *deſign* and beauty.

"BUT

But to return to our poet. Thus far he drew from *Gothic* ideas; and theſe ideas, I think, would lead him no further. But, as Spenser knew what belonged to claſſic compoſition, he was tempted to tie his ſubject ſtill cloſer together by *one* expedient of his own, and by *another* taken from his claſſic models.

His *own* was, to interrupt the proper ſtory of each book, by diſperſing it into ſeveral; involving by this means, and as it were intertwiſting the ſeveral actions together, in order to give ſomething like the appearance of one action to his twelve adventures. And for this conduct, as abſurd as it ſeems, he had ſome great examples in the *Italian* poets, though, I believe, they were led into it by different motives.

The *other* expedient, which he borrowed from the claſſics, was, by adopting one ſuperior character, which ſhould be

ſeen throughout. Prince ARTHUR, who had a ſeparate adventure of his own, was to have his part in each of the other; and thus ſeveral actions were to be embodied by the intereſt which one principal Hero had in them all. It is even obſervable, that SPENSER gives this adventure of Prince ARTHUR, in queſt of GLORIANA, as the proper ſubject of his poem. And upon this idea the late learned editor of the *Faery Queen* has attempted, but, I think, without ſucceſs, to defend the unity and ſimplicity of its fable. The truth was, the violence of claſſic prejudices forced the poet to affect this appearance of unity, though in contradiction to his *Gothic* ſyſtem. And, as far as we can judge of the tenour of the whole work from the finiſhed half of it, the adventure of Prince ARTHUR, whatever the author pretended, and his critic too eaſily believed, was but an after-thought; and, at leaſt with regard to the *hiſtorical fable*, which

which we are now conſidering, was only one of the expedients by which he would conceal the diſorder of his *Gothic* plan.

AND if this was his deſign, I will venture to ſay that both his expedients were injudicious. Their purpoſe was, to ally two things, in nature incompatible, the *Gothic*, and the claſſic unity; the effect of which miſalliance was to diſcover and expoſe the nakedneſs of the *Gothic*.

I AM of opinion then, conſidering the *Faery Queen* as an epic or *narrative* poem conſtructed on *Gothic* ideas, that the poet had done well to affect no other unity than that of *deſign*, by which his ſubject was connected. But his poem is not ſimply narrative; it is throughout *allegorical*: he calls it *a perpetual allegory or dark conceit*: and this character, for reaſons I may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter, was even predominant in the *Faery Queen*. His narration is ſubſer-

vient to his moral, and but ſerves to colour it. This he tells us himſelf at ſetting out,

Fierce wars and faithful loves ſhall *moralize* my ſong;

that is, ſhall ſerve for a vehicle, or inſtrument to convey the moral.

Now under this idea, the *Unity* of the *Faery Queen* is more apparent. His twelve knights are to exemplify as many virtues, out of which one illuſtrious character is to be compoſed. And in this view the part of Prince ARTHUR in each book becomes *eſſential*, and yet not *principal*; exactly, as the poet has contrived it. They who reſt in the literal ſtory, that is, who criticize it on the footing of a narrative poem, have conſtantly objected to this management. They ſay, it neceſſarily breaks the unity of deſign. Prince ARTHUR, they affirm, ſhould either have had no part in the other adventures, or he ſhould have had the chief part. He ſhould

ſhould either have done nothing, or more. This objection I find inſiſted upon by SPENSER's beſt critic [*d*]; and, I think, the objection is unanſwerable: at leaſt, I know of nothing that can be ſaid to remove it, but what I have ſuppoſed above might be the purpoſe of the poet, and which I myſelf have rejected as inſufficient.

BUT how faulty ſoever this conduct be in the literal ſtory, it is perfectly right in the *moral*: and that for an obvious reaſon, though his critics ſeem not to have been aware of it. His chief hero was not to have the twelve virtues in the *degree* in which the knights had, each of them, their own (ſuch a character, would be a monſter); but he was to have ſo much of each as was requiſite to form his ſuperior character. Each virtue, in its perfection, is exemplified in its own

[*d*] Mr. WARTON, *Obſ. on the F. Q.* p. 7. vol. i. *Lond.* 1762.

knight: they are all, in a due degree, concentered in Prince ARTHUR.

THIS was the poet's *moral:* and what way of expreſſing this moral in the *hiſtory*, but by making Prince ARTHUR appear in each adventure, and in a manner ſubordinate to its proper hero? Thus, though inferior to each in his own ſpecific virtue, he is ſuperior to all by uniting the whole circle of their virtues in himſelf: and thus he arrives, at length, at the poſſeſſion of that bright form of *Glory*, whoſe raviſhing beauty, as ſeen in a dream or viſion, had led him out into theſe miraculous adventures in the land of Faery.

THE concluſion is, that, as an *allegorical* poem, the method of the *Faery Queen* is governed by the juſtneſs of the *moral:* as a *narrative* poem, it is conducted on the ideas and uſages of *Chivalry*. In either view, if taken by itſelf, the plan is defenſible. But from the union

union of the two deſigns there ariſes a perplexity and confuſion, which is the proper, and only conſiderable, defect of this extraordinary poem.

LETTER IX.

NO doubt, SPENSER might have taken one ſingle adventure, of the TWELVE, for the ſubject of his Poem; or he might have given the principal part in every adventure to Prince ARTHUR. By this means his fable had been of the claſſic kind, and its unity as ſtrict as that of HOMER and VIRGIL.

ALL this the poet knew very well; but his purpoſe was not to write a claſſic poem. He choſe to adorn a *Gothic* ſtory; and, to be conſiſtent throughout, he choſe that the *form* of his work ſhould be of a piece with his ſubject.

DID the poet do right in this? I cannot tell: but, comparing his work with that

that of another great poet, who followed the ſyſtem you ſeem to recommend; I ſee no reaſon to be peremptory in condemning his judgment.

THE example of this poet deſerves to be conſidered. It will afford, at leaſt, a freſh confirmation of the point, I principally inſiſt upon, *the pre-eminence of the* Gothic *manners and fictions, as adapted to the ends of poetry, above the claſſic.*

I OBSERVED of the famous TORQUATO TASSO, that, coming into the world a little of the lateſt for the ſucceſs of the pure *Gothic* manner, he thought fit to *trim* between that and the claſſic model.

IT was lucky for his fame, that he did ſo. For the *Gothic* fables falling every day more and more into contempt, and the learning of the times, throughout all *Europe*,

Europe, taking a claſſic turn, the reputation of his work has been chiefly founded on the ſtrong reſemblance it has to the antient *Epic* poems. His fable is conducted in the ſpirit of the *Iliad*, and with a ſtrict regard to that unity of *action* which we admire in HOMER and VIRGIL.

BUT this is not all; we find a ſtudied and cloſe imitation of thoſe poets, in many of the ſmaller parts, in the minuter incidents, and even in the deſcriptions and ſimilies of his poem.

THE claſſic reader was pleaſed with this deference to the public taſte: he ſaw with delight the favourite beauties of HOMER and VIRGIL reflected in the *Italian* poet: and was almoſt ready to excuſe, for the ſake of theſe, his magic tales and faery enchantments.

I SAID, was *almoſt ready*; for the offence given by theſe tales to the more faſhionable

faſhionable ſort of critics was ſo great, that nothing, I believe, could make full amends, in their judgment, for ſuch extravagancies.

However, by this means, the *Gieruſalemme Liberata* made its fortune amongſt the *French* wits, who have conſtantly cried it up above the *Orlando Furioſo*, and principally for this reaſon, that Taſso was more claſſical in his fable, and more ſparing in the wonders of *Gothic* fiction, than his predeceſſor.

The *Italians* have indeed a predilection for their elder bard; whether from their prejudice for his ſubject; their admiration of his language; the richneſs of his invention; the comic air of his ſtyle and manner; or from whatever other reaſon.

Be this as it will, the *French* criticiſm has carried it before the *Italian*, with the

the reſt of *Europe*. This dextrous people have found means to lead the taſte, as well as ſet the faſhions, of their neighbours: and ARIOSTO ranks but little higher than the rudeſt Romancer in the opinion of thoſe who take their notions of theſe things from their writers.

BUT the ſame principle, which made them give TASSO the preference to ARIOSTO, has led them by degrees to think very unfavorably of TASSO himſelf. The mixture of the *Gothic* manner in his work has not been forgiven. It has ſunk the credit of all the reſt; and ſome inſtances of falſe taſte in the expreſſion of his ſentiments, detected by their nicer critics, have brought matters to that paſs, that, with their good will, TASSO himſelf ſhould now follow the fate of ARIOSTO.

I WILL not ſay, that a little national envy did not perhaps mix itſelf with their

their other reaſons for undervaluing this great poet. They aſpired to a ſort of ſupremacy in letters; and finding the *Italian* language and its beſt writers ſtanding in their way, they have ſpared no pains to lower the eſtimation of both.

WHATEVER their inducements were, they ſucceeded but too well in their attempt. Our obſequious and over-modeſt critics were run down by their authority. Their taſte of letters, with ſome worſe things, was brought among us at the Reſtoration. Their language, their manners, nay their very prejudices, were adopted by our polite king and his royaliſts. And the more faſhionable wits, of courſe, ſet their fancies, as my Lord MOLESWORTH tells us, the people of *Copenhagen* in his time did their clocks, by the court-ſtandard.

SIR W. DAVENANT opened the way to this new ſort of criticiſm in a very elaborate

borate preface to GONDIBERT; and his philoſophic friend, Mr. HOBBES, lent his beſt aſſiſtance towards eſtabliſhing the credit of it. Theſe two fine letters contain, indeed, the ſubſtance of whatever has been ſince written on the ſubject. Succeeding wits and critics did no more than echo their language. It grew into a ſort of cant, with which RYMER, and the reſt of that ſchool, filled their flimſy eſſays and rambling prefaces.

OUR noble critic himſelf [e] condeſcended to take up this trite theme: and it is not to be told with what alacrity and ſelf-complacency he flouriſhes upon it. The *Gothic manner*, as he calls it, is the favourite object of his raillery; which is never more lively or pointed, than when it expoſes that "bad taſte "which makes us prefer an ARIOSTO "to a VIRGIL, and a Romance (without "doubt he meant, of TASSO) to an *Iliad*."

[e] Lord SHAFTESBURY, *Adv. to an Author.*

Truly,

Truly, this critical ſin requires an expiation; which yet is eaſily made by ſubſcribing to his ſentence, "That the "French indeed may boaſt of legitimate "authors of a juſt reliſh; but that the "*Italian* are good for nothing but to "corrupt the taſte of thoſe who have "had no familiarity with the noble an-"tients [*f*]."

THIS ingenious nobleman is, himſelf, one of the *gallant votaries* he ſometimes makes himſelf ſo merry with. He is perfectly enamoured of his *noble antients*; and will fight with any man who contends, not that his Lordſhip's miſtreſs is not fair, but that his own is fair alſo.

IT is certain the French wits benefited by this foible. For pretending, in great modeſty, to have formed themſelves on the pure taſte of his noble ancients, they eaſily drew his Lordſhip over to their

[*f*] *Adv. to an Author*, Part III. S. II.

party;

party: while the *Italians*, more ſtubbornly pretending to a taſte of their own, and chuſing to *lye* for themſelves, inſtead of adopting the authorized *lyes* of *Greece*, were juſtly expoſed to his reſentment.

Such was the addreſs of the *French* writers, and ſuch their triumphs over the poor *Italians*.

It muſt be owned, indeed, they had every advantage on their ſide, in this conteſt with their maſters. The taſte and learning of *Italy* had been long on the decline; and the fine writers under Louis XIV were every day advancing the *French* language, ſuch as it is (ſimple, clear, exact, that is, fit for buſineſs and converſation; but for that reaſon, beſides its total want of numbers, abſolutely unſuited to the genius of the greater poetry), towards its laſt perfection. The purity of the antient manner became well underſtood, and it was the pride of

their beſt critics to expoſe every inſtance of falſe taſte in the modern writers. The *Italian*, it is certain, could not ſtand ſo ſevere a ſcrutiny. But they had eſcaped better, if the moſt faſhionable of the *French* poets had not, at the ſame time, been their beſt critic.

A LUCKY word in a verſe, which ſounds well and every body gets by heart, goes further than a volume of juſt criticiſm. In ſhort, the exact, but cold BOILEAU happened to ſay ſomething of the *clinquant* of TASSO; and the magic of this word, like the report of ASTOLFO's horn in ARIOSTO, overturned at once the ſolid and well-built reputation of the *Italian* poetry.

IT is not perhaps ſtrange that this potent word ſhould do its buſineſs in *France*. What was leſs to be expected, it put us into a fright on this ſide the water. Mr. ADDISON, who gave the law in

in taſte here, took it up, and ſent it about the kingdom in his polite and popular eſſays [g]. It became a ſort of watch-word among the critics; and, on the ſudden, nothing was heard, on all ſides, but the *clinquant* of TASSO.

AFTER all, theſe two reſpectable writers might not intend the miſchief they were doing. The obſervation was juſt; but was extended much further than they meant, by their witleſs followers and admirers. The effect was, as I ſaid, that the *Italian* poetry was rejected in the groſs, by virtue of this cenſure; though the authors of it had ſaid no more than this, "that their beſt poet "had ſome falſe thoughts, and dealt, as "they ſuppoſed, too much in incredible "fiction."

I LEAVE you to make your own reflexions on this ſhort hiſtory of the *Italian*

[g] *Spectator*, vol. i. N° 5. vol. v. N° 369.

poetry. It is not my deſign to be its apologiſt in all reſpects. However, with regard to the *firſt* of theſe charges, I preſume to ſay, that, as juſt as it is in the ſenſe in which I perſuade myſelf it was intended, there are more inſtances of natural ſentiment, and of that divine ſimplicity we admire in the antients, even in GUARINI'S *Paſtor Fido*, than in the beſt of the *French* poets.

AND as to the *laſt* charge, I pretend to ſhew you, in my next Letter, that it implies no fault at all in the *Italian* poets.

LETTER X.

CHI non ſa che coſa ſia Italia?—If this queſtion could ever be reaſonably aſked on any occaſion, it muſt ſurely be when the wit and poetry of that people were under conſideration. The enchanting ſweetneſs of their tongue, the richneſs of their invention, the fire and elevation

vation of their genius, the ſplendor of their expreſſion on great ſubjects, and the native ſimplicity of their ſentiments on affecting ones; all theſe are ſuch manifeſt advantages on the ſide of the *Italian* poets, as ſhould ſeem to command our higheſt admiration of their great and capital works.

YET a different language has been held by our finer critics. And, in particular, you hear it commonly ſaid of the tales of *Faery*, which they firſt and principally adorned, "that they are extravagant and abſurd; that they ſurpaſs "all bounds, not of truth only, but of "probability; and look more like the "dreams of children, than the manly inventions of poets."

ALL this, and more, has been ſaid; and, if truly ſaid, who would not lament

L'arte del poëtar troppo infelice?

For they are not the cold fancies of plebeian poets, but the golden dreams of Ariosto, the celeſtial viſions of Tasso, that are thus derided.

But now, as to the *extravagance* of theſe fictions, it is frequently, I believe, much leſs than theſe laughers apprehend.

To give an inſtance or two, of this ſort.

One of the ſtrangeſt circumſtances in thoſe books, is that of the *women-warriors*, with which they all abound. Butler, in his *Hudibras*, who ſaw it only in the light of a poetical invention, ridicules it, as a moſt unnatural idea, with great ſpirit. Yet, in this repreſentation, they did but copy from the manners of the times. Anna Comnena tells us, in the life of her father, that

that the wife of ROBERT the *Norman* fought ſide by ſide with her huſband, in his battles; that ſhe would rally the flying ſoldiers, and lead them back to the charge: and NICETAS obſerves, that, in the time of MANUEL COMNENA, there were in one Cruſade many women, armed like men, and on horſeback.

WHAT think you now of TASSO's *Clorinda*, whoſe prodigies of valour I dare ſay you have often laughed at? Or, rather, what think you of that conſtant pair,

" GILDIPPE et ODOARDO amanti e ſpoſi,
" In valor d'arme, e in lealtà famoſi?"

C. III. S. 40.

AGAIN: what can be more abſurd and incredible, it is often ſaid, than the vaſt armies we read of in Romance? a circumſtance, to which MILTON ſcruples not to allude in thoſe lines of his *Paradiſe Regained*—

Such forces met not, nor ſo wide a camp,
When AGRICAN with all his northern powers
Beſieg'd *Albracca*, as Romances tell,
The city' of GALLAPHRONE, from thence to win
The faireſt of her ſex, ANGELICA.
B. III. ver. 337.

THE claſſical reader is much ſcandalized on theſe occaſions, and never fails to cry out on the impudence of theſe lying fablers. Yet, if he did but reflect on the prodigious ſwarms which *Europe* ſent out in the Cruſades, and that the tranſactions of thoſe days furniſhed the Romance-writers with their ideas and images, he would ſee that the marvellous in ſuch ſtories was modeſt enough, and did not very much exceed the ſtrict bounds of hiſtorical repreſentation.

THE firſt army, for inſtance, that marched for the Holy Land, even after all the loſſes it had ſuſtained by the way, amounted, we are told, when it came to be

be muſtered in the plains of *Aſia*, to no leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand fighting men: a number, which would almoſt have ſatisfied the Romancer's keeneſt appetite for wonder and amplification.

A THIRD inſtance may be thought ſtill more remarkable.

"WE read perpetually of walls of fire "raiſed by magical art to ſtop the pro- "greſs of knights-errant. In TASSO, the "wizard ISMENO guards the inchanted "foreſt with walls of fire. In the *Or-* "*lando Inamorato*, L. III. C. I. MAN- "DRICARDO is endeavoured to be ſtop- "ped by enchanted flames; but he makes "his way through all."

THUS far the learned editor of the *Faery Queen* [Notes on B. III. C. XI. S. 25.] who contents himſelf, like a good Romance-critic, with obſerving the fact, without the irreverence of preſuming to

to account for it. But if the profane will not be kept within this decent reſerve, we may give them to underſtand, that this fancy, as wild as it appears, had ſome foundation in *truth*. For I make no queſtion but theſe *fires*, raiſed by magical art, to ſtop the progreſs of aſſailants, were only the flames of FEUGREGEOIS, as it was called, that is of WILDFIRE, which appeared ſo ſtrange, on its firſt invention and application, in the barbarous ages.

WE hear much of its wonders in the hiſtory of the Cruſades; and even ſo late as SPENSER's own time they were not forgotten. DAVILA, ſpeaking of the ſiege of *Poitiers* in 1569, tells us—*Abbondavano nella citta le proviſioni da guerra; tra le quali, quantita ineſtimabile di* FUOCHI ARTIFICIATI, *lavorati in diverſe maniere, ne'quali avenano i defenſori poſta grandiſſima ſperanza di reſpingere gli aſſalti de'nemici.* Lib. v.

HENCE,

HENCE, without doubt, the *magical flames and fiery walls*, of the *Gothic* Romancers [g]; and who will ſay, that the *ſpecious miracles* of HOMER himſelf had a better foundation?

BUT, after all, this is not the ſort of defence I mean chiefly to inſiſt upon. Let others explain away theſe *wonders*, ſo offenſive to certain philoſophical critics. They are welcome to me in their own proper form, and with all the extravagance commonly imputed to them.

IT is true, the only criticiſm, worth regarding, is that which theſe critics lay claim to, the philoſophical. But there is a ſort which looks like philoſophy, and is not. May not that be the caſe here?

[g] For an account of ſome other wonders in Romance, ſuch as *enchanted arms*, *invulnerable bodies*, *flying horſes*, &c. ſee *L'Eſprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 22.

THIS

THIS criticiſm, whatever name it deſerves, ſuppoſes that the poets, who are lyars by profeſſion, expect to have their lyes believed. Surely they are not ſo unreaſonable. They think it enough, if they can but bring you to *imagine* the poſſibility of them.

AND how ſmall a matter will ſerve for this? A legend, a tale, a tradition, a rumour, a ſuperſtition; in ſhort, any thing is enough to be the baſis of their air-formed *viſions*. Does any capable reader trouble himſelf about the truth, or even the credibility of their fancies? Alas, no; he is beſt pleaſed when he is made to conceive (he minds not by what magic) the exiſtence of ſuch things as his reaſon tells him did not, and were never likely to, exiſt.

BUT here, to prevent miſtakes, an explanation will be neceſſary. We muſt diſtinguiſh

diſtinguiſh between the *popular belief*, and *that of the reader*. The fictions of poetry do, in ſome degree at leaſt, require the *firſt* (they would, otherwiſe, deſervedly paſs for *dreams* indeed): but when the poet has this advantage on his ſide, and his fancies have, or may be ſuppoſed to have, a countenance from the current ſuperſtitions of the age in which he writes, he diſpenſes with the *laſt*, and gives his reader leave to be as ſceptical and as incredulous, as he pleaſes.

A FASHIONABLE *French* critic diverts himſelf with imagining "what a per-"ſon, who comes freſh from reading Mr. "ADDISON and Mr. LOCKE, would be "apt to think of TASSO's Enchant-"ments [*b*]."

THE *Engliſh* reader will, perhaps, ſmile at ſeeing theſe two writers ſo coupled together: and, with the critic's

[*b*] VOLTAIRE, *Eſſai ſur la Poëſie Epique*, ch. vii.

leave,

leave, we will put Mr. Locke out of the queſtion. But if he be deſirous to know what a reader of Mr. Addison would pronounce in the caſe, I can undertake to give him ſatisfaction.

Speaking of what Mr. Dryden calls, *the Faery way of writing*, "Men of cold "fancies and philoſophical diſpoſitions, "ſays he, object to this kind of poetry, "that it has not probability enough to "affect the imagination. But—many "are prepoſſeſt with ſuch falſe opinions, "as diſpoſe them to *believe* theſe parti- "cular deluſions: at leaſt, we have all "*heard* ſo many pleaſing relations in fa- "vour of them, that we do not care for "ſeeing through the *falſhood*, and willing- "ly give ourſelves up to ſo agreeable "an impoſture." [*Spect.* N° 419.]

Apply, now, this ſage judgment of Mr. Addison to Tasso's *Enchantments*; and you ſee that a *falſhood convict* is not

to

to be pleaded againſt a *ſuppoſed belief*, or even the *ſlighteſt hear-ſay*.

So little account does this wicked poetry make of philoſophical or hiſtorical truth: all ſhe allows us to look for, is *poetical truth*; a very ſlender thing indeed, and which the poet's eye, when rolling in *a fine frenzy*, can but juſt lay hold of. To ſpeak in the philoſophic language of Mr. HOBBES, it is ſomething much *beyond the actual bounds, and only within the conceived poſſibility, of nature.*

BUT the ſource of bad criticiſm, as univerſally of bad philoſophy, is the abuſe of terms. A poet, they ſay, muſt follow *nature*; and by nature we are to ſuppoſe can only be meant the known and experienced courſe of affairs in this world. Whereas the poet has a world of his own, where experience has leſs to do, than conſiſtent imagination.

He has, beſides, a ſupernatural world to range in. He has Gods, and Faeries, and Witches, at his command: and,

— — — — O! who can tell
The hidden *pow'r* of herbes, and might of magic ſpell?

SPENSER, B. V. C. ii.

Thus, in the poet's world, all is marvellous and extraordinary; yet not *unnatural* in one ſenſe, as it agrees to the conceptions that are readily entertained of theſe magical and wonder-working natures.

This trite maxim of *following Nature* is further miſtaken, in applying it indiſcriminately to all ſorts of poetry.

In thoſe ſpecies which have men and manners profeſſedly for their theme, a ſtrict conformity with human nature is reaſonably demanded.

Non

Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque
Invenies: hominem pagina noſtra ſapit:

is a proper motto to a book of epigrams; but would make a poor figure at the head of an epic poem.

STILL further, in thoſe ſpecies that addreſs themſelves to the heart, and would obtain their end, not through the *imagination*, but through the *paſſions*; there the liberty of tranſgreſſing nature; I mean the real powers and properties of human nature, is infinitely reſtrained; and *poetical* truth is, under theſe circumſtances, almoſt as ſevere a thing as *hiſtorical*.

THE reaſon is, we muſt firſt *believe*, before we can be *affected*.

BUT the caſe is different with the more ſublime and creative poetry. This ſpecies, addreſſing itſelf ſolely or princi-

pally to the Imagination; a young and credulous faculty, which loves to admire and to be deceived; has no need to obſerve thoſe cautious rules of credibility, ſo neceſſary to be followed by him who would touch the affections and intereſt the heart.

THIS difference, you will ſay, is obvious enough. How came it then to be overlooked? From another miſtake, in extending a particular precept of the drama into a general maxim.

THE *incredulus odi* of HORACE ran in the heads of theſe critics, though his own words confine the obſervation ſingly to the ſtage:

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aurem
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus, et quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit Spectator ——

THAT, which paſſes in *repreſentation*, and challenges, as it were, the ſcrutiny of

of the eye, muſt be truth itſelf, or ſomething very nearly approaching to it. But what paſſes in *narration*, even on the ſtage, is admitted without much difficulty —

multaque tolles
Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præſens.

In the epic narration, which may be called *abſens facundia*, the reaſon of the thing ſhews this indulgence to be ſtill greater. It appeals neither to the *eye* nor the *ear*, but ſimply to the *imagination*, and ſo allows the poet a liberty of multiplying and enlarging his impoſtures at pleaſure, in proportion to the eaſineſs and comprehenſion of that faculty [*i*].

[*i*] A celebrated writer, whoſe good ſenſe, or whoſe perverſeneſs, would not ſuffer him to be the dupe of French prejudices, declares himſelf roundly of this opinion: "On a voulu mettre en *repreſentation* (ſays he, ſpeaking of the abſurd magnificence "of the *French* Opera) le MERVEILLEUX, qui, "n'étant fait que pour être imaginé, EST AUSSI "BIEN PLACE DANS UN POÈME EPIQUE que ridi-"culement ſur un theatre." [*Nouv. Heloiſe*, p. II. L. xxiii.]

THESE general reflexions hardly require an application to the preſent ſubject. The tales of Faery are exploded, as fantaſtic and incredible. They would merit this contempt, if preſented on the ſtage; I mean, if they were given as the proper ſubject of dramatic imitation, and the intereſt of the poet's plot were to be wrought out of the adventures of theſe marvellous perſons. But the epic muſe runs no riſque in giving way to ſuch fanciful exhibitions.

YOU may call them, as one does, "extraordinary dreams, ſuch as excellent "poets and painters, by being over-ſtudi-"ous, may have in the beginning of fe-"vers [k]."

THE epic poet would acknowledge the charge, and even value himſelf upon it. He would ſay, "I leave to the

[k] Sir W. DAVENANT's Preface.

ſage

ſage dramatiſt the merit of being always broad awake, and always in his ſenſes. The *divine dream* [*l*], and delirious fancy, are among the nobleſt of my prerogatives."

But the injuſtice done the *Italian* poets does not ſtop here. The cry is, "Magic and enchantments are ſenſeleſs "things. Therefore the *Italian* poets "are not worth the reading." As if, becauſe the ſuperſtitions of Homer and Virgil are no longer believed, their poems, which abound in them, are good for nothing.

Yes, you will ſay, their fine pictures of life and manners —

And may not I ſay the ſame, in behalf of Ariosto and Tasso? For it is not true that all is *unnatural* and monſtrous in their poems, becauſe of this

[*l*] Θεῖον ὄνειρον. Homer.

mixture of the wonderful. Admit, for example, ARMIDA's marvellous conveyance to the happy Iſland; and all the reſt of the love-ſtory is as natural, that is, as ſuitable to our common notions of that paſſion, as any thing in VIRGIL or (if you will) VOLTAIRE.

THUS, you ſee, the apology of the *Italian* poets is eaſily made on every ſuppoſition. But I ſtick to my point, and maintain that the Faery tales of TASSO do him more honour than what are called the more natural, that is, the claſſical parts of his poem. His imitations of the antients have indeed their merit; for he was a genius in every thing. But they are faint and cold, and almoſt inſipid, when compared with his *Gothic* fictions. We make a ſhift to run over the paſſages he has copied from VIRGIL. We are all on fire amidſt the magical feats of ISMEN, and the enchantments of ARMIDA.

Magnanima menſogna, hor quando è il vero
Si bello, che ſi poſſa à te preporre?

I SPEAK at leaſt for myſelf; and muſt freely own, if it were not for theſe *lyes* of *Gothic* invention, I ſhould ſcarcely be diſpoſed to give the *Gieruſalemme Liberata* a ſecond reading.

I READILY agree to the lively obſervation, "That impenetrable armour, in-"chanted caſtles, invulnerable bodies, "iron men, flying horſes, and other ſuch "things, are eaſily feigned by them that "dare [*m*]." But, with the obſerver's leave, not ſo feigned as we find them in the *Italian* poets, unleſs the writer have another quality, beſides that of courage.

ONE thing is true, that the ſucceſs of theſe fictions will not be great, when they have no longer any footing in the popular belief: and the reaſon is, that

[*m*] Mr. HOBBES's Letter.

readers do not uſually do as they ought, put themſelves in the circumſtances of the poet, or rather of thoſe, of whom the poet writes. But this only ſhews, that ſome ages are not ſo fit to write epic poems in, as others; not, that they ſhould be otherwiſe written.

It is alſo true, that writers do not ſucceed ſo well in painting what they have heard, as what they believe, themſelves, or at leaſt obſerve in others a facility of believing. And on this account I would adviſe no modern poet to revive theſe Faery tales in an epic poem. But ſtill this is nothing to the caſe in hand, where we are conſidering the merit of epic poems, written under other circumſtances.

The Pagan Gods and *Gothic* Faeries were equally out of credit, when Milton wrote. He did well therefore to ſupply their room with Angels and Devils.

If

If theſe too ſhould wear out of the popular creed (and they ſeem in a hopeful way, from the liberty ſome late critics have taken with them) I know not what other expedients the epic poet might have recourſe to; but this I know, the pomp of verſe, the energy of deſcription, and even the fineſt moral paintings, would ſtand him in no ſtead. Without *admiration* (which cannot be effected but by the marvellous of celeſtial intervention, I mean, the agency of ſuperior natures really exiſting, or by the illuſion of the fancy taken to be ſo) no epic poem can be long-lived.

I AM not afraid to inſtance in the *Henriade* itſelf; which, notwithſtanding the elegance of the compoſition, will in a ſhort time be no more read than the *Gondibert* of Sir W. DAVENANT, and for the ſame reaſon.

CRITICS

CRITICS may talk what they will of *Truth and Nature*, and abuſe the *Italian* poets as they will, for tranſgreſſing both in their incredible fictions. But, believe it, my friend, theſe fictions with which they have ſtudied to delude the world, are of that kind of creditable deceits, of which a wiſe antient pronounces with aſſurance, "*That they, who "deceive, are honeſter than they who do "not deceive; and they, who are deceived, "wiſer than they who are not deceived.*"

LETTER XI.

BUT you are weary of hearing ſo much of theſe exploded fancies; and are ready to aſk, if there be any truth in this repreſentation, "Whence it "has come to paſs, that the claſſical man-"ners are ſtill admired and imitated by "the poets, when the *Gothic* have long "ſince fallen into diſuſe?"

THE

THE anſwer to this queſtion will furniſh all that is now wanting to a proper diſcuſſion of the preſent ſubject.

ONE great reaſon of this difference certainly was, that the ableſt writers of *Greece* ennobled the ſyſtem of heroic manners, while it was freſh and flouriſhing; and their works, being maſter-pieces of compoſition, ſo fixed the credit of it in the opinion of the world, that no revolutions of time and taſte could afterwards ſhake it.

WHEREAS the *Gothic* having been diſgraced in their infancy by bad writers, and a new ſet of manners ſpringing up before there were any better to do them juſtice, they could never be brought into vogue by the attempts of later poets; who yet, in ſpite of prejudice, and for the genuine charm of theſe highly poetical manners, did their utmoſt to recommend them.

BUT,

BUT, FURTHER, the *Gothic* ſyſtem was not only forced to wait long for real genius to do it honour; real genius was even very early employed againſt it.

THERE were two cauſes of this miſhap. The old Romancers had even outraged the truth in their extravagant pictures of Chivalry: and Chivalry itſelf, ſuch as it once had been, was greatly abated.

So that men of ſenſe were doubly diſguſted, to find a repreſentation of things *unlike* to what they obſerved in real life, and *beyond* what it was ever poſſible ſhould have exiſted. However, with theſe diſadvantages, there was ſtill ſo much of the old ſpirit left, and the faſcination of theſe wondrous tales was ſo prevalent, that a more than common degree of ſagacity and good ſenſe was required to penetrate the illuſion.

IT was one of this character, I ſuppoſe, that put the famous queſtion to ARIOSTO, which has been ſo often repeated that I ſhall ſpare you the diſguſt of hearing it. Yet long before his time an immortal genius of our own (ſo ſuperior is the ſenſe of ſome men to the age they live in) ſaw as far into this matter, as ARIOSTO's examiner.

YOU will, perhaps, be as much ſurprized, as I was (when, many years ago, the obſervation was, firſt, made to me) to underſtand, that this ſagacious perſon was DAN CHAUCER; who, in a reign that almoſt realized the wonders of Romantic Chivalry, not only diſcerned the abſurdity of the old Romances, but has even ridiculed them with incomparable ſpirit.

"HIS RIME OF SIR TOPAZ in the *Canterbury* tales (ſaid the curious obſerver, on

on whoſe authority I am now building) is a manifeſt banter on theſe books, and may be conſidered as a ſort of prelude to the adventures of Don QUIXOTE. I call it *a manifeſt banter:* for we are to obſerve that this was CHAUCER's own tale; and that, when in the progreſs of it the good ſenſe of the Hoſt is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, CHAUCER approves his diſguſt, and, changing his note, tells the ſimple inſtructive tale of MELIBOEUS; *a moral tale virtuous*, as he terms it; to ſhew, what ſort of fictions were moſt expreſſive of real life, and moſt proper to be put into the hands of the people.

IT is, further, to be noted, that the tale of *the Giant* OLYPHANT *and Chylde* TOPAZ was not a fiction of his own, but a ſtory of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of Chivalry: ſo that nothing could better ſuit the poet's deſign of diſcrediting the old Romances, than

than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them.

But what puts the ſatiric purpoſe of *the Rime of Sir* Topaz out of all queſtion, is, that this ſhort poem is ſo managed as, with infinite humour, to expoſe the leading impertinencies of books of Chivalry; the very *ſame*, which Cervantes afterwards drew out, and expoſed at large, in his famous hiſtory.

Indeed Sir Topaz is all Don Quixote in little; as you will eaſily ſee from comparing the two knights together; who are drawn with the ſame features, are characterized by the ſame ſtrokes, and differ from each other but as a ſketch in miniature from a finiſhed and full-ſized picture.

1. Cervantes is very particular in deſcribing the *perſon* and *habit* of his Hero, agreeably to the known practice of

of the old Romancers. CHAUCER does the ſame by his knight, and in a manner that almoſt equals the arch-gravity of the *Spaniſh* author:

Sir TOPAZ was a doughty ſwaine,
White was his face as paine maine,
His lippes red as roſe,
His rudde is like ſcarlet in graine,
And I you tell in good certaine,
He had a ſeemely noſe.

His haire, his berde, was like ſafroune,
That to his girdle raught adowne,
His ſhoone of cordewaine,
Of Bruges were his hoſen-broun,
His robe was of chekelatoun,
That coſt many a jane.

2. CERVANTES tells us how Don QUIXOTE paſſed his time in the country, before he turned Knight-errant. CHAUCER, in the ſame ſpirit, celebrates his knight's country diverſions of *hunting*, *hawking*, *ſhooting*, and *wreſtling*, thoſe known *proluſions* to feats of arms:

He

He couth hunt at the wilde dere,
And ride an hauking for by the rivere
With grey GOSHAUKE on honde,
Thereto he was a good archere,
Of wraſtling was there none his pere
There any Ram ſhould ſtonde.

3. THE Knights of Romance were uſed to dedicate their ſervices to ſome paragone of beauty, ſuch as was only conceived to exiſt in the land of Faery, and could no where be found in this vulgar diſenchanted world. Hence one of the ſtrongeſt features in Don QUIXOTE's character is the ſublime paſſion he had conceived for an imaginary or faery miſtreſs. Sir TOPAZ is not behind him in this extravagance:

An Elfe-queene woll I love, I wis,
For in this world no woman is
To be my make in towne,
All other women I forſake
And to an Elfe-queene I me take
By dale and eke by downe.

4. DON QUIXOTE's paſſion for this idol of his fancy was ſo violent, that, after all the bangs and bruiſes of the day, inſtead of ſuffering his weary limbs to take any reſt, it occupied him all night with inceſſant dreams and reveries of his miſtreſs. Sir TOPAZ is in the ſame woful plight:

Sir TOPAZ eke ſo weary was —
That down he laid him in that place —
Oh, Saint MARY, benedicite
What aileth this love at me
To blind me ſo ſore?
Me dreamed all this night parde
An Elfe-queene ſhall my leman be
And ſleepe under my gore.

5. As the chaſtity of the hero of LA MANCHA is well known, from a variety of trying temptations, ſo Sir TOPAZ diſtinguiſhes himſelf by this knightly virtue:

Full

Full many a maide bright in boure
They mourne for him their paramoure,
Whan hem were bet to ſleepe,
But he was chaſte and no lechoure,
And ſweete as is the bramble floure
That bereth the red hipe.

6. THE fight of Sir TOPAZ with the Giant of three heads, in honour of his miſtreſs,

For needes muſt he fight
With a giant with heads thre,
For paramours and jolitie
Of one that thone full bright—

together with his armings, and the whole ridiculous preparation for the combat, deſcribed at large in ſeveral ſtanzas, is exactly in the ſtyle and taſte of CERVANTES, on ſimilar occaſions.

7. CERVANTES gives us to underſtand that it was familiar with his knight to ſleep in the open air, to endure all hard-

ships that befell, and to let his horſe graze by him. CHAUCER, in like manner, of his knight, with much humour:

And for he was a knight auntrous,
He nolde ſlepen in none houſe
But liggen in his hood,
His bright helme was his wanger
And by him fed his deſtrer
Of herbes fine and good.

8. AND, laſtly, as CERVANTES, after the example of the Romance-writers, will have it, that his knight ſurpaſſes all others of antient fame, ſo DAN CHAUCER is careful to vindicate this high prerogative, to his hero:

Men ſpeaken of Romances of pris
Of HORNECHILD and of IPOTIS,
Of BEVIS and Sir GIE,
Of Sir LIBEAUX and BLANDAMOURE;
But Sir TOPAZ, he beareth the floure
Of rial chivalrie."

THUS

THUS far, at leaſt to this effect, the concealed author (for the diſpenſers of theſe faery favours would not be inquired after) of this new interpretation of the *Rime of Sir* TOPAZ. Other circumſtances of reſemblance might be added (for when a well-grounded hint of this ſort is once given, and opened in ſome inſtances, it is not difficult to purſue it), but one needs go no further to be certain that the general ſcope of this poem is, Burleſque.

ONLY, I would obſerve, that, though, in this ridiculous ballad, the poet clearly intended to expoſe the Romances of the time, as they were commonly written, he did not mean, abſolutely and under every form, to condemn the kind of writing itſelf: as, I think, we muſt conclude from the ſerious air, and very different conduct, of the SQUIRE'S TALE; which SPENSER and MILTON were ſo particularly pleaſed with.

ners remaining on the face of the earth: and as they never did ſubſiſt but once, and are never likely to ſubſiſt again, people would be led of courſe to think and ſpeak of them, as romantic, and unnatural. The conſequence of which was a total contempt and rejection of them; while the claſſic manners, as ariſing out of the cuſtomary and uſual ſituations of humanity, would have many archetypes, and appear natural even to thoſe who ſaw nothing ſimilar to them actually ſubſiſting before their eyes.

THUS, though the manners of HOMER are perhaps as different from ours, as thoſe of Chivalry itſelf, yet as we know that ſuch manners always belong to rude and ſimple ages, ſuch as HOMER paints; and actually ſubſiſt at this day in countries that are under the like circumſtances of barbarity; we readily agree to call them *natural*, and even take a fond pleaſure in the ſurvey of them.

YOUR

YOUR queſtion then is eaſily anſwered, without any obligation upon me to give up the *Gothic* manners as viſionary and fantaſtic. And the reaſon appears, why the *Faery Queen*, one of the nobleſt productions of modern poetry, is fallen into ſo general a neglect, that all the zeal of its commentators is eſteemed officious and impertinent, and will never reſtore it to thoſe honours which it has, once for all, irrecoverably loſt.

IN effect, what way of perſuading the generality of readers that the romantic manners are to be accounted *natural*, when not one in ten-thouſand knows enough of the barbarous ages, in which they aroſe, to believe they ever really exiſted?

POOR SPENSER then,

— — — — "in whoſe gentle ſpright
The pure well-head of Poeſie did dwell,"

muſt,

muſt, for aught I can ſee, be left to the admiration of a few lettered and curious men: while the many are ſworn together to give no quarter to the *marvellous*, or, which may ſeem ſtill harder, to the *moral* of his ſong.

HOWEVER, this great revolution in modern taſte was brought about by degrees; and the ſteps, that led to it, may be worth the tracing in a diſtinct Letter.

LETTER XII.

THE wonders of Chivalry were ſtill in the memory of men, were ſtill exiſting, in ſome meaſure, in real life, when CHAUCER undertook to expoſe the barbarous relaters of them.

THIS ridicule, we may ſuppoſe, haſtened the fall both of Chivalry and Romance. At leaſt from that time the ſpirit

ſpirit of both declined very faſt, and at length fell into ſuch diſcredit, that when now SPENSER aroſe, and with a genius ſingularly fitted to immortalize the land of Faery, he met with every difficulty and diſadvantage to obſtruct his deſign.

THE age would no longer bear the naked letter of theſe amuſing ſtories; and the poet was ſo ſenſible of the misfortune, that we find him apologizing for it on a hundred occaſions.

BUT apologies, in ſuch circumſtances, rarely do any good. Perhaps, they only ſerved to betray the weakneſs of the poet's cauſe, and to confirm the prejudices of his reader.

HOWEVER, he did more than this. He gave an air of myſtery to his ſubject, and pretended that his ſtories of knights and

and giants were but the cover to abundance of profound wiſdom.

In ſhort, to keep off the eyes of the prophane from prying too nearly into his ſubject, he threw about it the miſt of allegory: he moralized his ſong: and the virtues and vices lay hid under his warriours and enchanters. A contrivance which he had learned indeed from his *Italian* maſters: for Tasso had condeſcended to allegorize his own work; and the commentators of Arioſto had even converted the extravagances of the *Orlando Furioſo*, into moral leſſons.

And this, it muſt be owned, was a ſober attempt in compariſon of ſome projects that were made about the ſame time to ſerve the cauſe of the old, and now-expiring Romances. For it is to be obſerved, that the idolizers of theſe Romances did by them, what the votaries of Homer had done by him. As the times

times improved and would leſs bear his ſtrange tales, they *moralized* what they could, and turned the reſt into myſteries of *natural ſcience*. And as this laſt contrivance was principally deſigned to cover the monſtrous ſtories of the *Pagan Gods*, ſo it ſerved the lovers of Romance to palliate the no leſs monſtrous ſtories of *magic and enchantments*.

THE editor, or tranſlator of the 24th book of AMADIS DE GAULE, printed at *Lyons* in 1577, has a preface explaining the whole ſecret, which concludes with theſe words, "Voyla, Lecteur, le FRUIT, qui ſe peut recueiller du ſens myſtique des Romans antiques par les ESPRITS ESLEUS, le commun peuple ſoy contentant de la SIMPLE FLEUR DE LA LECTURE LITERALE."

BUT to return to SPENSER; who, as we have ſeen, had no better way to take in his diſtreſs, than to hide his faery fancies

fancies under the myſtic cover of moral allegory. The only favourable circumſtance that attended him (and this no doubt encouraged, if it did not produce his untimely project) was, that he was ſomewhat befriended in theſe fictions, even when interpreted according to the Letter, by the Romantic Spirit of his age; much countenanced, and for a time brought into freſh credit, by the Romantic ELIZABETH. Her inclination for the fancies of Chivalry is well known; and obſequious wits and courtiers would not be wanting, to feed and flatter it. In ſhort, tilts and tournaments were in vogue: the *Arcadia* and the *Faery Queen* were written.

WITH theſe helps the new Spirit of Chivalry made a ſhift to ſupport itſelf for a time, when reaſon was but dawning, as we may ſay, and juſt about to gain the aſcendant over the portentous ſpectres of the imagination. Its growing

ing ſplendour, in the end, put them all to flight, and allowed them no quarter even among the poets. So that MILTON, as fond as we have ſeen he was of the *Gothic* fictions, durſt only admit them on the bye, and in the way of ſimile and illuſtration only.

AND this, no doubt, was the main reaſon of his relinquiſhing his long-projected deſign of Prince ARTHUR, at laſt, for that of the *Paradiſe Loſt*; where, inſtead of Giants and Magicians, he had Angels and Devils to ſupply him with the *marvellous*, with greater probability. Yet, though he dropped the tales, he ſtill kept to the allegories of SPENSER. And even this liberty was thought too much, as appears from the cenſure paſſed on his *Sin and Death* by the ſeverer critics.

THUS at length the magic of the old Romances was perfectly diſſolved. They began with reflecting an image indeed of

of the feudal manners, but an image magnified and diſtorted by unſkilful deſigners. Common ſenſe being offended with theſe perverſions of truth and nature (ſtill accounted the more monſtrous, as the antient manners, they pretended to copy after, were now diſuſed, and of moſt men forgotten) the next ſtep was to have recourſe to *allegories*. Under this diſguiſe they *walked the world* a while; the excellence of the moral and the ingenuity of the contrivance making ſome amends, and being accepted as a ſort of apology, for the abſurdity of the literal ſtory.

UNDER this form the tales of Faery kept their ground, and even made their fortune at court; where they became, for two or three reigns, the ordinary entertainment of our princes. But reaſon, in the end (aſſiſted however by party, and religious prejudices), drove them off the ſcene, and would endure theſe *lying*

wonders, neither in their own proper ſhape, nor as maſked in figures.

HENCEFORTH, the taſte of wit and poetry took a new turn: and the *Muſe*, who had wantoned it ſo long in the world of fiction, was now conſtrained, againſt her will,

"To ſtoop with diſenchanted wings to truth,"

as Sir JOHN DENHAM ſomewhere expreſſes her preſent enforced ſtate, not unhappily.

WHAT we have gotten by this revolution, you will ſay, is a great deal of good ſenſe. What we have loſt, is a world of fine fabling; the illuſion of which is ſo grateful to the *charmed Spirit*, that, in ſpite of philoſophy and faſhion, *Faery* SPENSER ſtill ranks higheſt among the poets; I mean, with all thoſe who are either come of that houſe, or have any kindneſs for it.

EARTH-BORN critics, my friend, may blaſpheme:

"But all the GODS are raviſh'd with delight
"Of his celeſtial ſong, and muſic's wondrous
"might."

THE END.

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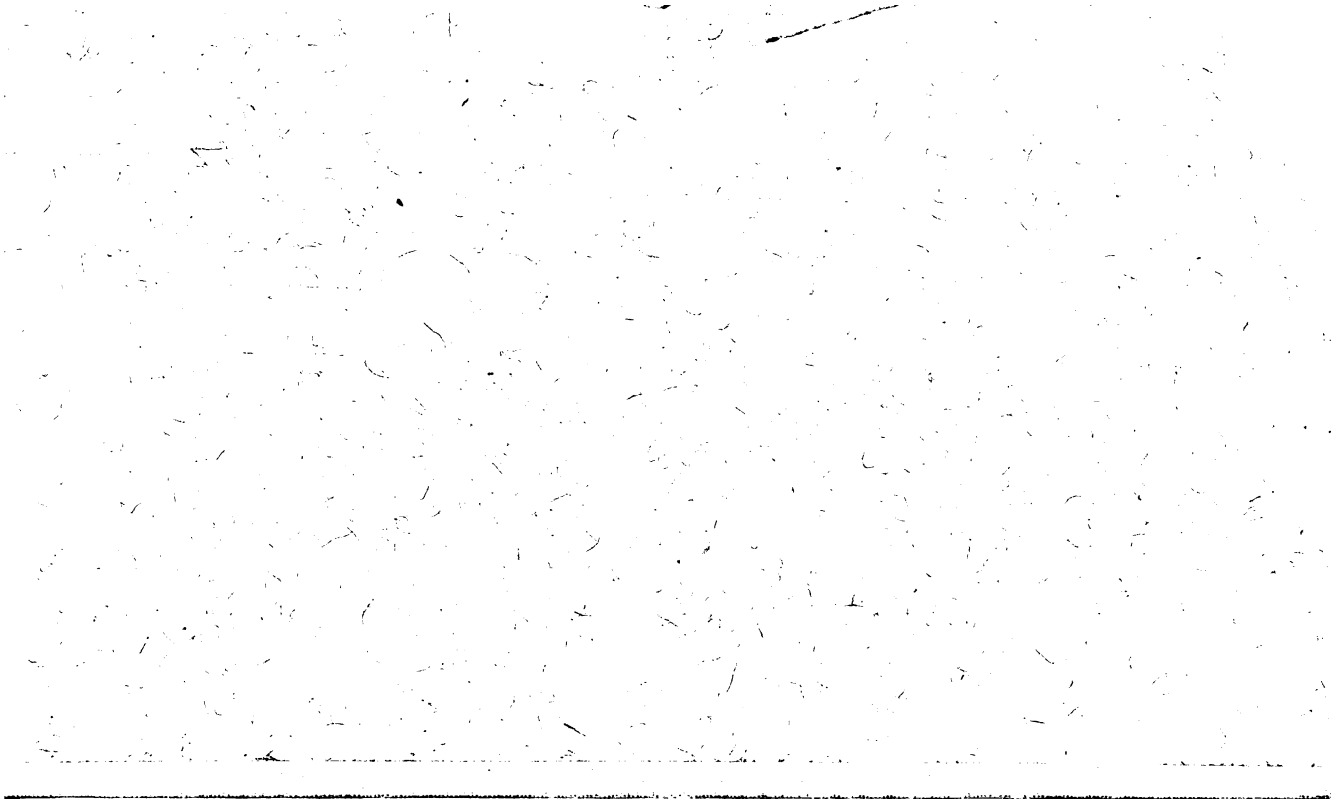

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